

THE VISIGOTHS

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ALBERTO FERREIRO



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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

with admiration
to
Pere de Palol and Jacques Fontaine

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INTRODUCTION

Visigothic studies in like manner as those of Late Antiquity has experienced in the last twenty years significant scholarly attention. In 1985 a major conference on the Visigoths was held in Madrid (*Los Visigodos. Historia y Civilización. Universidad de Murcia, 1986*), followed by another in Toledo in 1989 to commemorate the fourteenth centenary of the Third Council of Toledo (*XIV Centenario Concilio III de Toledo, 589-1989. Toledo, 1991*). In 1990 a conference which explored the legacy of Visigothic civilization in the Middle Ages convened in Paris (*L'Europe Héritière de l'Espagne Wisigothique. Madrid, 1992*). In 1996 there was an international colloquium co-sponsored by the Universität Würzburg and the Universidade do Minho held at Braga, Portugal on the Sueves (*Suevos/Schwaben. Colloquio Interdisciplinar. Universidade do Alto Minho, Braga, (in the press)*). Even more important is the impressive amount of scholarly articles which appear annually on Visigothic society and culture in the proceedings of conferences and in academic journals in every major western and eastern European language. Equally impressive are the specific book-length monographs which have appeared in the last decade on the Goths (Wolfram and Heather), Ostrogoths (Burns), and general studies on the Germanic migrations and early medieval Iberia (Goffart, Thompson, and Collins). My own bibliography on the Visigoths in Gaul and Iberia resulted in an astounding collection of over 9,000 entries (*The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain A.D. 418-711: A bibliography. Brill, 1988*). The latest bibliographies show no abatement whatsoever of this scholarly output on the Visigoths and other Germanic tribes which flourished in Europe from the fourth to the beginning of the eighth century.

Generalists of Late Antiquity will find herein essays which introduces them to the wider context and issues surrounding the topic while at the same time encountering cutting edge Visigothic scholarship. Specialists have in hand here plenty of material in these essays to challenge long held perspectives that incorporates new interpretations of known texts and archaeological discoveries recently come to light. Our essays by some of the leading scholars, both established and up and coming, reveal the interdisciplinary nature which characterizes Visigothic studies. This volume has intentionally been limited to a consideration of the Visigoths in the Iberian Peninsula, with the

exception of the Sivan/Mathisen essay which treats of the Visigoths in Gaul and their entry into the Iberian Peninsula. Those who specialize in Visigothic studies are fully aware that one could have easily devoted an entire volume on any aspect of the Goth migrations, be it the early Danube stage, Ostrogothic Italy, Visigothic Toulouse, or Visigothic/Germanic Iberia. Our volume does not touch upon all desirable aspects of Goth studies, but the essays do represent an exemplary sampling of the many fascinating research avenues currently in progress in Visigothic studies. The authors in this collection who labored so faithfully to provide essays for this volume are to be commended both for the quality of their work and the novel insights they bring to Visigothic studies.

The collection opens with an excellent treatment by Hagith Sivan and Ralph Mathisen who have collaborated in a study on Visigothic Toulouse that has successfully explored the complexities of the settlement of the Visigoths in France. They also point towards the end of the essay the transition that the Visigoths made from Toulouse into the Iberian Peninsula after their defeat at the hands of Clovis. Moreover, the authors confront the fundamental question as to what extent this minority Germanic people formed a 'distinct identity' and established a kingdom within a majority Gallo-Roman society. The sophistication of their research is self evident by the wide variety of sources which they have brought to bear on this complex and yet fundamental question in Germanic migration history in Late Roman Gaul. Maria João Violante Branco takes us to *Gallaecia* in the North-western corner of the Iberian peninsula where the Sueves, a constant rival to the neighboring Visigoths, established an independent kingdom which lasted from 407 to 585. The reader is introduced to a region which had a flourishing Church and culture with deep ties not only to Latin Christendom, but also to the Byzantine Empire. Long before the Visigoths officially embraced Catholic orthodoxy, the Sueves had already aligned themselves to Nicene Christianity which all the more made them a constant threat to their nemesis the Arian Visigoths whose seat of power was at Toledo. The major catalyst for the permanent conversion of the Sueves was Martin of Braga. It was through this rather enigmatic missionary bishop that the Church in *Gallaecia* was set on the path to embrace Catholic orthodoxy. This study aptly demonstrates the richness of the sources and the great care which must be taken in their interpretation. Ana María Jorge focuses her work on *Lusitania* in western Iberia, another region

which experienced many influences from Suevic *Gallaecia*, Visigothic *Hispania*, and externally from North Africa and the Byzantine East. We witness in *Lusitania*, as in the case of *Gallaecia* and Visigothic *Hispania*, a flourishing ecclesiastical culture which remarkably endured the constant social, political, and military shifts caused by the settlement of the Germanic tribes.

From here the volume proceeds with a consideration of the more abundantly documented region of Visigothic *Hispania*. The literary and archaeological sources permits scholars to reconstruct more than any of the Goth migration phases the social, political, and ecclesiastical history of the Visigoths in the Iberian Peninsula.

Raúl González-Salineró revisits a well known topic, the treatment of Jews in Visigothic Spain. This essay brings together well known fundamental research as well as new findings which have been published in the last fifteen years. This article establishes that relations between the Jews and the ruling Arian monarchy after 589 officially Catholic, and the Church were indeed very complex. One aspect of these encounters that remains constant is the incessant hostility towards Jews and Judaism throughout the entire Visigothic era. Jeremy du Quesnay Adams shares with us his preliminary report, one that will be included in a wider study, on the political grammar of Ildefonsus of Toledo. Ildefonsus of Toledo was one of the preeminent figures of the Visigothic Church and his writings are filled with a rich political language that sheds light on how this ecclesiastic understood the distinctions between Church and State, and that of the ruling laity and clergy. Pablo C. Díaz explores convincingly, based upon the latest scholarship, the establishment, proliferation and the distinctive nature of monasticism and liturgy in Visigothic Spain. They both developed and persisted virtually unimpeded throughout the Arian phase of the Visigothic monarchy in the midst of strained relationships between Arians and Catholics. The author clearly demonstrates through monastic and liturgical sources that Visigothic monasticism and the liturgy had significant influences from many quarters of greater Christendom. These mainly stemming from Gaul in the North and North Africa in the South, and from the Byzantine Church.

Archaeological exploration is one area of Visigothic studies which continues to yield fresh new information about the Germanic period in the Iberian Peninsula. D.M. Metcalf through his own recent numismatic research and based upon two recently published studies in

Portugal offers a compelling 'state of the question' study. The numismatic evidence continues to be a fruitful source, a direct result of ongoing archaeological discoveries in the whole of the Iberian Peninsula, that permits numismatists to address questions of demographics, centers of power, and the geographical extension of the Visigothic monarchy's political and economic influence. Karen Carr's study is a meticulous treatment of pottery remains in Visigothic Baetica. There are several significant features about this study. One, it once again demonstrates the deep ties of Visigothic Spain to North Africa. Two, the study addresses the important question, via pottery remains, of the continuity or discontinuity between Roman and Germanic Iberia. Finally, this article is an example of the specific regional research that can be carried out on Visigothic Iberia principally through archaeology. Gisela Ripoll López in a broader study continues with the theme of transformation and acculturation of Roman Iberia in the Visigothic period. The author deftly brings together the research of current archaeologists, among which she occupies a significant place, on the urban and rural landscape of Late Antique Iberia. The urban and rural remains, like the previous studies on numismatics and pottery, reveal the depth and the process of the Visigothic transformation of Roman Iberia.

Our volume appropriately comes to closure with the novel and tantalizing study of Luís García Moreno on the post-Visigothic era. The survival of any Visigothic ethnic or cultural identity in the two centuries following the Muslim invasion of Iberia has been virtually unexplored. García Moreno has judiciously consulted both the Latin and Muslim sources which confirm the persistent memory of Gothic identity among the Mozarabs in the early stages of Muslim Iberia.

In conclusion, it is undoubtedly clear from the essays in this volume that Visigothic studies continues to be and will be one of the most fruitful fields of research in Late Antique research. It is the hope of this editor that scholars of Late Antiquity in other areas of study, thematic or regional, will integrate into their work a broader consideration of developments in the Iberian Peninsula during the Visigothic period. This was a region that was hardly marginalized from events in neighboring Gaul, Italy, North Africa, and the Byzantine Empire.

I wish to thank all of the authors for their willingness to produce these essays, for their enormous patience during a few set backs along the way, and for entrusting me to bring this volume to completion.

My research assistant Stuart Pérez at *Seattle Pacific University* deserves praise for rescuing a novice like me from many disasters with his expert computer wizardry. I am most profoundly in debt to the two anonymous readers for Brill, the editors of the *Medieval Mediterranean Series*, Theo Joppe, Anniek Durksz, Gera van Bedaf and Julian Deahl, Senior Acquisitions Editor for their assistance, expert consultation, and constructive critique.

Alberto Ferreiro
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CHAPTER ONE

FORGING A NEW IDENTITY: THE KINGDOM OF TOULOUSE AND THE FRONTIERS OF VISIGOTHIC AQUITANIA (418-507)

Ralph W. Mathisen and Hagith S. Sivan

The birth, duration, and demise of what is traditionally known as the Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse were only briefly noted by ancient annalists. Modern interpreters have reconstructed a much fuller picture of the history of the Visigoths in their Gallic home, although a sense of the precise nature of the kingdom is still lacking. In the wake of recent scholarly discussions of the nature of Romano-barbarian interaction along external frontier zones, one also might re-examine the formation and meaning of internal frontiers of the sort inherent in the settlement of barbarians within the empire.¹ New visions of the dynamics of frontier societies as evidenced by an ongoing mutual adaptation of the trappings of leadership, prestige, and status, further complicate the questions of who exactly was a barbarian and who was a Roman, and where the frontiers of *Romania* and *barbaria* were.

The Legacy of Alaric

Before settling in Aquitania at the beginning of the fifth century, two critical periods of evolution contributed to the formation of Gothic identity both outside and inside the imperial frontiers. For a century (ca.275-ca.375) the Goths had inhabited the abandoned trans-Danubian Roman province of Dacia, where archaeological data from burial inventories, technological-petrographic analysis of ce-

¹ See R. Mathisen and H. Sivan, eds., *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity* (Aldershot, 1996); C.R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire. A Social and Economic Study* (Baltimore 1994); and S.K. Drummond and L.H. Nelson, *The Western Frontiers of Imperial Rome* (Armonk, NY 1994). Also worth consulting are B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire* (revised edition) (Oxford 1992); R.C. Blockley, *East Roman Foreign Policy: Formation and Conduct from Diocletian to Anastasius* (Leeds 1992); D.H. French and C.S. Lightfoot, *The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1989); and M.H. Dodgeon and S.N.C. Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars* (London 1991).

ramics, and anthropological data relating to patterns of settlement point to cultural amalgamation among Dacians, Sarmatians, Romans, and Goths.² The very inability of archaeology to provide precise ethnic identification is in itself indicative of the degree of interaction and adaptation. The Gothic arrival on the northern Danubian/Carpathian frontier, to which Romanian and Ukrainian archaeologists have ascribed the flowering of the so-called Sintana de Mures/Chernjakhov culture, did not completely replace or submerge other traditions. The picture that emerges is one of a mixture of cultures in which no specific ethnicity can be identified.³

Written sources, meanwhile, tell of Christian missions into Gothic lands, of sporadic religious persecutions, of villages and social hierarchy, and of wars and treaties with the Roman government.⁴ They inform us of a settled agricultural society; of villagers, solicitous of preserving their authority in the face of perceived opposition, protecting their communities against agents sent by remote rulers; and of inherent weakness with regard to resisting outside invaders, either Roman or Hunnic. The crowds that begged admission to Roman territory in 376 were essentially groups of panic-stricken refugees, starved and terrorized and not as yet formed into a coherent community, although united in their desire to leave the old land for a new life. They carried with them souvenirs of native rites and traditions that even the mighty kings of Aquitania could not shake off at a later stage, as well as visual symbols of an ancestral worship.⁵ During the crossing of the Danube the leaders of these groups may have learned something about the working of the Roman government, whose of-

² See L. Ellis, "Dacians, Sarmatians, and Goths on the Roman-Carpathian Frontier: Second-Fourth Centuries," in Mathisen/Sivan, *Shifting Frontiers* (London, 1996) 105-125; P. Heather, J.F. Matthews, *The Goths in the Fourth Century* (Liverpool, 1991); P. Heather, "The Emergence of the Visigothic Kingdom," in J. Drinkwater, H. Elton eds., *Fifth Century Gaul: A Crisis of Identity?* (Cambridge 1992) 84-94; and idem, *Goths and Romans 332-489* (Oxford, 1991).

³ Note that the use and final disposition of objects are not necessarily indicative of ethnicity, because of factors such as trade, stealing, friendship, or marriage exchange. The process of manufacturing, on the other hand, can be used to identify ethnicity because of the nature of learning in pre-industrial societies. See Ellis, "Dacians." We are grateful to Prof. Ellis for making available information from her forthcoming book.

⁴ On Ulfila in Gothia, see H. Sivan, "The Making of an Arian Goth: Ulfila Reconsidered," *Revue Bénédictine* (forthcoming). For Gothic society prior to 376, E.A. Thompson, *The Visigoths in the Time of Ulfila* (Oxford 1966).

⁵ Eunapius, fr. 48.2 (Blockley).

ficers were free to misapply imperial orders and whose representatives abused their authority.⁶

Another forty years of alternating migrations and temporary settlements further shaped the fate of the peoples who had come under the Visigothic umbrella in the late 370s. Between 376 and 416 the Goths migrated from Dacia-Gothia to the southern Balkans, then to Epirus and Greece, then westward to Italy, south toward Sicily and back north across the Alps to Gaul and Spain. The destabilization of local society, the emergence of Alaric as the chief warlord of the majority of the Visigoths, the transformation of Gothic society in the process, and the effect of the mass conversion to Christianity, all modified the nature of Gothic traditions and societal bonds. Nearly a century and a half of exposure to *Romanitas*, both along frontier zones and inside the imperial frontiers culminated in a rapprochement between Goths and Romans which resulted in the emergence of a new Gothic society in Aquitania.

Throughout the Danubian and the peripatetic periods, Gothic aristocrats assumed the double mantles of native warlords and Roman generals. They served in the Roman army, coveted high-ranking military positions, fought Rome's wars, and married Roman women. Some retained their position within the structure of Visigothic leadership whereas others chose complete immersion in Roman society. War, in brief, was the chief Visigothic occupation and the breeder of a new type of warrior culture in both a Roman and a Visigothic context. Military activities also provided a means by which both Visigoths and Romans assimilated aspects of each other's culture.

The genesis of the kingdom of Toulouse lies in the career of Alaric, and his shifting relations with the Roman government. The tedious story of repeated negotiations, treaties, broken truces, friendship, and enmity between 395 and 410 highlights the ambiguous nature of the relations between Alaric's "Visigoths" and Honorius' government. If Alaric's intentions can be divined from his words and actions, he aimed at acquiring three things: a preeminent position for himself and his family within Gothic society, a well-defined landed domain, and an outside recognition of his leadership of the Visigoths.

⁶ Both Ammianus and Eunapius make it clear that the remoteness of the court was a weighty factor in the lax execution of its orders. The crossing was a highly disorderly affair in which neither "Goths" nor Romans kept to their side of the agreement.

An examination of his tactics, however, indicates that he had no clear idea of how to achieve these goals. In quick succession, he became an ally fighting Rome's war, an enemy attacking Roman territory, a blackmailer, a Roman officer, a supporter of the legitimate emperor, and a begetter of a usurper. In the end he died without achieving two of his three aims.

His lesson, up to a point, was not lost on his successors. His brother-in-law Athaulf (410-415) opted for a clearly pro-Roman course. He moved the Visigoths to Gaul in 412, and supported the Italian government against the Gallic emperor Jovinus in 413.⁷ He went so far as to marry the Roman princess Galla Placidia, who had been kidnapped by Alaric in 410, in a Roman ceremony and to declare in favor of the rule of law. His laudable intentions, however, were premature, and he survived only few years. His successor Sigeric (415) fared no better, and ruled only for a few weeks. The next ruler, Vallia (415-418), modeled his rule on both Alaric and Athaulf. He contracted an alliance with the Roman government, fought on Honorius' behalf against other barbarians in Spain, and in 418 negotiated a treaty that granted the Visigoths territory in Aquitania and seemingly achieved all of Alaric's aims; all he lacked was a Roman military appointment. Once the Visigoths had land for permanent settlement, a more stable system of rulership, and a contract with Rome, the Gothic rulers had new problems to face: how could the kings retain their authority? How could they forge a new sense of Gothic identity with themselves as undisputed leaders? How would the Roman model of monarchy, clearly adopted by the new ruling house of Gothic Aquitania, both reinforce (and perhaps also weaken?) the status of the Gothic monarchy? The following discussion will delineate the development of the Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse by focusing on these three questions, with an added aim of tracing the formation of internal frontiers and zones of interaction within the Roman provincial system as a Gothic presence modified the physical and cognitive landscape of Aquitania.

⁷ For these events, see Matthews, *Aristocracies*, pp.314-319; and Heather, *Goths*, pp.219-223.

The Visigothic Settlement in Aquitania

The foundation of the Visigothic Kingdom of Toulouse still raises significant and unanswered questions: why was Aquitania the site of Visigothic settlement; why did the settlement occur when it did; and, finally, through what processes was the settlement accomplished? All three of these considerations have been much debated, but no consensus has emerged. The Visigoths themselves offer little direct information. Only two relevant documents, the *Code of Euric* (*Codex Euricianus*) (late 470s) and the *Roman Law of the Visigoths* (*Lex Romana Visigothorum*), later known as the *Breviary of Alaric* (*Breviarium Alarici*) (506), survive from the nine decades of their Aquitanian monarchy.⁸ There is, in addition, the normal debris left behind by long habitation: hundreds of sarcophagi, possibly commissioned by Gothic clients but none bearing an identifying inscription; dozens of mosaics decorating luxurious rural residences and urban dwellings, some perhaps used by Gothic owners; and thousands of pot-shards. Modern toponymic observations have added a few score place-names throughout Aquitania which can be attributed to the Visigoths, but there is little other Visigothic material to which the historian may turn.

Roman sources are relatively more plentiful and more varied, ranging from imperial legislation, to chronicles, letters, and ecclesiastical and legal documents. None, however, offers more than a partial and often distorted picture of the complex events leading up to the Visigothic settlement in Aquitania. The presence of the Visigoths inside the imperial *limes* presented the imperial administration with intractable problems and imminent dangers. Moreover, the Visigothic Kingdom of Toulouse in Gaul was the predecessor of the Visigothic Kingdom of Toledo in Spain, and the latter monarchy, by absorbing much of the attention of the Merovingian Franks, made possible the last flourish of western classical culture in the Ostrogothic Kingdom of Italy. Thus the Kingdom of Toledo, too, was an important factor in the political and cultural life of the Late Roman west, and the circumstances of its origin deserve also careful consideration.

⁸ For the codes see T. Mommsen, P.M. Meyer, P. Krüger eds., *Theodosiani libri XVI*, vol.1 (Berlin, 1902) p.cccviii ff; *MGH Leges* 1.3ff; and G. Haenel, *Lex romana visigothorum*. For translations of some passages of the *Codex Euricianus*, see S.P. Scott tr., *The Visigothic Code* (Boston 1910)).

The Gallic Background

Imperial attitudes toward Gaul ever since the late third century were influenced by the appearance of the Gallic Empire (259-273) and subsequent usurpations.⁹ Late in the third century costly fortresses like Jublains north of the Loire (Armorica) were abandoned peacefully and, as reflected in the *Notitia dignitatum* of post-400, never re-incorporated into the military defensive system. This move may have been a part of a strategy that considered Armorica dispensable. A century later, in the early 380s, the western seat of imperial government, which had temporarily been moved to Gaul by Valentinian I in 365/6, was relocated to Italy, to be followed ca. 395 by the transfer of the seat of the Gallic prefect from Trier to Arles. The move away from external frontier zones into internal buffer areas which, we suggest, had begun in the late third century, was confirmed in the early fifth with the assignment of Aquitania to the Goths.

The timing and the location of the Gothic accommodation also needs to be considered in light of a major reorganization of the Roman frontiers that took place in the wake of the collapse of the Rhine frontier after 406 and the subsequent abandonment of Britain. The constant engagement of government troops in civil wars against usurpers between 407 and 413 prevented a realignment of the frontier zones in the north and forced Honorius' government to consider new frontier strategies. By the mid 410s the western generalissimo Constantius may have conceived a frontier vision comprised of a series of internal buffer zones based on the existing provincial system and on a re-allocation of economic resources, all aimed at ensuring the security and prosperity of Italy and of adjacent or strategically important territories like the Gallic and Spanish Mediterranean and, of course, Africa. One such zone was located in western Gaul, between the Loire and the Garonne and along the Atlantic, an area which traditionally had been a major invasion route between the Rhine and the Pyrenees. Its central axis was the river Garonne, between Bordeaux and Toulouse, two urban centers which later served as capitals of the Gothic kings.

In allocating Aquitania to the Goths Constantius admitted that both the Rhine and Britain had in effect fallen out of the Roman *limes* system. The choice of Aquitania also confirmed what years of

⁹ See R. Mathisen, *Roman Aristocrats in Barbarian Gaul. Strategies for Survival in an Age of Transition* (Austin, 1993) pp.17-26.

invasions and usurpations had already established: that the region had become marginalised as far as the provincial network controlled from Milan and Ravenna was concerned. The settlement there also kept the Goths away from strategic areas.

The Settlement of 418

Ancient sources relating to the Gothic settlement of Aquitania are laconic. Indeed, the silence of the ancient sources regarding any novelties in the 418 arrangements perhaps imply that this *foedus* with the Goths, one among many, was conceived as a part of a larger strategy into which the Gothic-Aquitanian solution fitted without meriting specific comment. In a dry entry, the Gallic chronicler of the year 452 stated simply, "Aquitania was handed over to the Goths."¹⁰ The chronicler Prosper Tiro of Aquitania related that "the patrician Constantius concluded a peace treaty with Vallia and granted him Aquitania Secunda, along with a few cities of the neighboring provinces, for habitation."¹¹ Writing in the late 460s, the Spaniard Hydatius recorded, "The Goths, having broken off the campaign that they were waging [against the Suevi and the Vandals in Spain], were recalled to Gaul by Constantius and received lands in Aquitania extending from Toulouse all the way to the ocean.... After Vallia, their king, died, Theoderic succeeded to the throne."¹² And in the mid sixth century, Jordanes noted cryptically, "Vallia .. having won glory in Spain and having won a bloodless victory, returned to Tolasa, turning over to the Roman Empire several provinces [in Spain] after the enemies had been put to flight ... and after the death of Vallia [the Goths] chose Theoderic as his successor,"¹³ suggesting,

¹⁰ *Aquitania Gothis tradita: Chron.Gall.452 s.a.413, MGH AA 9.654.*

¹¹ *Constantius patricius pacem firmat cum Vallia data ei ad inhabitandam secunda Aquitanica et quibusdam civitatibus confinium provinciarum: MGH AA 9.469, s.a.419.*

¹² *Gothi intermisso certamine quod agebant, per Constantium sedes in Aquitanica a Tolosa usque ad oceanum acceperunt. Vallia eorum rege defuncto Theodoricus succedit in regno: Hyd. Chron. 69-70, s.a. 418, MGH AA 2.19 (cf. Eunapius fr.35).*

¹³ *Vallia ... nobilitatus namque intra Spanias incruentamque victoriam potitus, Tolosam revertitur. Romano imperio fugatis hostibus aliquantas provincias, quod promiserat, derelinquens... et illi iam post mortem Valliae Theodericum ei dederant successorem (Jord. Get. 173, 175).* Some modern sources (e.g. *PLRE II*, pp.1148, 1070), assert that Vallia died in Spain and that the settlement was effected by Theoderic I, but not only do none of the sources cited say anything of the sort (they only note that Theoderic succeeded Vallia), but this statement of Jordanes says clearly that Theoderic became king after Vallia's return to Toulouse. Heather, *Goths*, p.223, however, has Vallia as still alive after 418.

at least, that Vallia was responsible for the acquisition of Toulouse.

Modern scholars have generally agreed on a date of 418 for the execution of the treaty and the beginning of the Gothic kingdom of Aquitania. Yet, the Gallic Chronicle dates it to 413, Hydatius opts for 418, and Prosper suggests 419. The date of 413 can clearly be rejected for the date of the actual settlement, although it may well reflect some kind of agreement made with the Goths prior to their Spanish expeditions. Prosper's date of 419, moreover, is impossible, as Vallia had died the year before. This leaves Hydatius' date of 418 as a convenient choice for the date of the settlement, with the caveat that Prosper's date of 419 might reflect the actual transfer of the Goths from Spain to Aquitania. The agreement, therefore, even if initially made by Vallia, would have been implemented by his successor Theoderic I (418-451), whose claim to the throne seems to have been based on his marriage to a daughter of Alaric.¹⁴ And a point to note here is that none of the sources claim that the Roman government granted the Goths a kingdom in Aquitania.

In spite of any disagreement of the chroniclers over the date of the settlement, they are unanimous in insisting that the Goths achieved one major aim: lands for settlement. Two ascribe the initiative to Constantius, then *magister utriusque militiae* ("Master of Both Services"), and one states that the Gothic negotiator was Vallia, then leader of the Gothic people. The territory involved in the arrangement was one of the two Aquitanian provinces as well as a few cities in Novempopulana, and one, Toulouse, in Narbonensis Prima, being the only one specifically named.¹⁵ Since none of the sources bothered with details, they do not explain just how the territory was to be administered or allocated. Nor do they clarify what the Goths were supposed to deliver in return for the Roman land concession.

It would appear that the agreement of 418 suited the needs not only of both the Gothic and Roman leaders, but even, perhaps, the local population. From the Gothic point of view the settlement agreement could not have been more opportune. The brief Spanish interlude had brought military defeat, hunger, and the premature death

¹⁴ See *PLRE II*, pp.1070-1071. Theoderic I had six sons, Thorismund (451-453), Theoderic II (453-466), and Euric (466-484), who succeeded him in turn; Fridericus, who died in battle in 463; and Reteric and Himnerith, about whom nothing is known except that they were sent home by their father just before the battle against the Huns (see *PLRE II*, s.v.).

¹⁵ For Novempopulana, see the discussion of the *Constitutio saluberrima* below.

of two kings. Vallia, who came to the throne after the assassination of two predecessors (Athaulf and Sigeric) in one year, needed to feed his people, and to ensure his own survival. If Athaulf's pro-Roman and Sigeric's anti-Roman stands proved fatal to each, a third option was to meet the Romans half way. In 416, in a prelude to the settlement of 418, Vallia had already returned Galla Placidia and received food supplies in exchange for serving the Romans in Spain.¹⁶ The agreement two years later further regularized relations with the Roman government, and at the same time secured a defined settlement area for Vallia's people.

That Honorius' government was anxious to rid Spain of its Gothic warriors and to reorganize its own forces there seems clear from an imperial letter that can be plausibly dated to 418.¹⁷ Here, the government offered the Spanish troops the same rewards granted to those in Gaul and urged the soldiers not to abuse their right of *hospitalitas*, a process in which a Roman "host" provided a billet for a military "guest," but "to depart with all readiness and propriety, complying with the wishes of their hosts."¹⁸ By then, the barbarian presence had resulted in a decade of continuous devastation. Spain needed a breathing space to recover and the removal of one hostile element was vital. There always was a chance that if the Goths did succeed in eliminating the Vandals and the Suevi they would decide to further their own interests in Spain, independent of imperial authority and even in opposition to it.¹⁹ The Romans also would have learned by then that unless they reached a satisfactory agreement with the Goths they could face another Gothic imperial nominee like Attalus.

The agreement with the Goths, and their removal from Spain, brought the reestablishment of imperial control over Hispania Tarraconensis and enabled the Roman government to complete the task that it had begun there. In addition, the permanent settlement of the Visigoths promised to replace an uncertain and potentially dangerous wandering ally with a stable reservoir of fighting men in a region of little strategic importance for Italy. Nor was the western Roman

¹⁶ Orosius, *Adv. pag.* 7.43.12.

¹⁷ H. Sivan, "An Unedited Letter of the Emperor Honorius to the Spanish Soldiers," *ZPE* 61 (1985) 273-287 (and plate x). The letter's preface calls attention to "the devastation caused by various tribes of barbarians."

¹⁸ *omni alacritate atque virtute abeatis, hospitibus obsequamini* (ibid.).

¹⁹ Note Jord. *Get.* 164: *Honorius ... veritus, ne foedus dudum cum Ataulfo inito [Vallia] ipse turbaret et alius rursus in re publica insidias moliretur vicinas sibi gentes expulsas...*

government able, or cynical enough perhaps, to adopt the Gothic policy of its eastern brethren and to send the Goths back to the east.

As for the local residents, the Gallo-Roman inhabitants of Aquitania, they too may not have objected strenuously to the settlement. The surviving sources give little hint of protest.²⁰ Constantius had attempted to convince landowners in Gaul like Rutilius Namatianus that their presence back home at that particular moment was vital for the general reconstruction of the province after years of barbarian invasions and devastation.²¹ The thought that Visigothic arms might protect the region against usurpations, invasions, and perhaps even sea-raiders and Bagaudic insurrections must have been attractive. As would the hope of farmers to occupy lands that had been abandoned, fallen vacant, or despoiled. But were the Aquitanians told that their guests were coming to stay? No referendum, it seems, was held by the government regarding the readiness of the Aquitanians to become "hosts" for permanent Gothic "guests."

The Treaty Terms

A series of *foedera* (treaties) between Roman governments and Gothic leaders between 376 and 418 established a long line of precedents for the agreement of 418. Although the *foedus* of 382 has achieved mythical proportions in modern literature, the fact remains that we are singularly ill informed about its details. The eastern orator Themistius, invaluable as a strictly contemporary witness, speaks vaguely about the sharing of duties, responsibilities, and taxes. And the fragmentary historian Eunapius mentions an agreement with Athanaric involving provisions and land.²² But any attempt to integrate the Visigoths into the Roman system, largely based on an unrealistic assumption of Rome's integrative power, proved extremely difficult to achieve on the ground. The treaty of which we are best informed, the one which preceded the crossing of the Danube in 376, put a prime value on the Goths as potential military aid in imperial campaigns.²³ The question remains whether the defeat of Valens at

²⁰ Although even if they had, the retribution well may have been harsh, as in the early 440s when Alans were settled near Orléans (*Chron.gall.* 452 127 s.a. 442).

²¹ H. Sivan, "Rutilius Namatianus, Constantius III and the Return to Gaul in Light of New Evidence," *Medieval Studies* 48 (1986), 522-32.

²² See Themistius, *Oration* xx, Eunapius, fr.45.3.

²³ As both Ammianus and Eunapius state.

Adrianople in 378 really changed the Roman outlook and the terms that the Roman government was willing to negotiate and to concede.

In this light, then, the treaty of 418 may have been in essence a rephrasing of previous treaties with one significant difference. This time there was a chance for greater longevity and stability, based upon the granting of a specific area for Gothic settlement and upon the existence of a more stable Visigothic monarchy. Customarily, the Gothic leader represented the Goths in negotiations with the Roman government. Periodic re-negotiations strengthened the consolidation of the Gothic monarchy. The position of a negotiator worked in two directions: it reinforced the status of the Gothic representative in the eyes of his own people and it also conferred on him an official Roman recognition. Alaric capitalized on both scores, and his successors used his precedent to bolster their own authority. In this view, any lands that the Roman emperor allotted to the Goths would have been transferred to the Gothic king and thence to his people. Thus a pyramid of power was created with the Roman emperor as the owner of all imperial lands, at the top; the Gothic ruler as the nominal holder of the lands, directly below; and a whole hierarchical structure, from Gothic nobles to Gothic peasants.

Which is not to say, however, that the Roman government gave up their claims to Aquitania. An imperial decree in 418, the so-called *Constitutio saluberrima* ("Most Wholesome Ordinance"), was issued in the name of Honorius for the express purpose of returning normality to the Gallic provinces.²⁴ It rejuvenated the *Concilium septem provinciarum* ("Council of the Seven Provinces"), a forum for the meeting of the representatives of all the Gallic provinces that had been established ca.403/408 but which had fallen into desuetude during the subsequent Gallic usurpations. Here, the territory allocated to the Visigoths was still clearly included within the imperial fold. The law presumed that Roman officials would continue to serve in the territory occupied by the Visigoths, noting, "So that with regard to Novempopulana and Aquitania Secunda, which provinces are located further away, if a fixed duty occupies their governors, let them know that legates must be sent according to custom."²⁵ Thus, even if the Roman government continued to claim some kind of administra-

²⁴ See Haenel, *Corpus legum*, p.238.

²⁵ *ita ut de Novempopulana, et Secunda Aquitania, quae provinciae longius constitutae sunt, si earum iudices occupatio certa tenuerit, sciant, legatos iuxta consuetudinem esse mittendos* ("*Saluberrima magnificentiae*": Haenel, *Corp.leg.* no.1171 p.238).

tive authority in these areas, the realization existed from the beginning that there might be difficulties when it came to these officials actually attending the meetings of the council.²⁶ Nor is there any evidence that any of them ever did.

Land Tenure I

The sources, as already seen above, are quite clear that in 418 the Goths received land for settlement. Nevertheless, there have been attempts to reevaluate the specific methods used for the settlement.²⁷ It has been argued that the Goths were not given lands to settle, but merely a portion of the tax assessment of the inhabitants of Roman Aquitania. Admittedly, the century-old view that espouses the institution of *hospitalitas* as a model of land division between Romans and barbarians stands in need of modification.²⁸ For Roman laws regulating *hospitalitas*, whether accorded to soldiers or civilians, Romans or barbarians, are unanimous in insisting on the temporary sharing of either lands or urban residences.²⁹ None considered any form of permanent billeting or the hosting of entire families, and, in particular, none considered the granting of actual lands. Indeed, most regulations regarding *hospitalitas* involved either exemptions or the manner in which a location was to be "shared." So the means by which these temporary arrangements—if there was indeed any direct connection at all—evolved into patterns of permanent land tenure remains unclear.

But the hypothesis that suggests that the Goths merely received a share of tax revenues raises even more thorny problems.³⁰ In the first place, a survey of all the *foedera* concluded between Rome and various peoples in Late Antiquity shows that many of them insisted on grants

²⁶ See Matthews, *Aristocracies*, p.336

²⁷ See W. Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans 418-584: The Techniques of Accommodation* (Princeton 1980), and J. Durliat, "Le salaire de la paix sociale dans les royaume barbares," in H. Wolfram and A. Schwarcz, eds. *Anerkenung und Integration* (Vienna 1988), 21-72.

²⁸ H. Sivan, "On *foederati*, *hospitalitas* and the Settlement of the Goths in AD 418," *AJP* 108 (1987), 759-772. Note also Paulinus of Pella, *Euch.* 285, *hospite tunc etiam Gothico quae sola careret*, which indicates the existence of Gothic *hospes* prior to the 418 settlement, and not involving land.

²⁹ *CTh* 7.8 (*De metatis*).

³⁰ E.g. S. Barnish, "Taxation, Land and Barbarian Settlement in the Western Empire," *PBSR* 54 (1986), 170-195; T. Burns, *Historia* (1992); and Sivan, "*Foederati*."

of lands for settlement.³¹ Its omission from the 418 agreement would require a convincing explanation. For, if the Goths were barred from land tenure and had to be content with a share of tax revenues, where did they actually live? One would expect some evidence, either written or archaeological, if all the Goths were crowded into cities.³² Tax-divisions would further assume that the Roman government had the machinery to execute an orderly collection and redistribution, but the numerous laws pertaining to taxation in the *Theodosian Code* suggest rather an ever slackening administrative grasp.³³

It seems clear, therefore, that the settlement of 418 involved the actual distribution of land. The sources explicitly refer to it.³⁴ There were lands available. And there were even existing procedures for the allocation of such lands. Even before the fifth century the Roman government had settled vast numbers of barbarians on Roman lands, both along external frontier zones and inside imperial territory. And while the *foederati* of the fifth century must be distinguished from earlier settlers who had not contracted a favorable *foedus* with the Roman government, the precedent of settling barbarians in accordance with patterns of Roman land tenure had been established for centuries. What really changed was the importation of people to do the job which native peoples, like the Moors of Africa, did elsewhere.

Of the types of lands which, at least in Gaul, would have been sufficient to accommodate the Goths, three are relevant: the *agri deserti* (owned, but deserted, lands), the *caduca* (lands whose ownership had lapsed and had reverted to the fisc), and the *res privatae* (lands owned by the crown).³⁵ Indeed, the granting of these lands could have kept the barbarians under obligation to the imperial treasury. And to make matters palatable to all sides, it would have been possi-

³¹ E. Chrysos, "Legal Concepts and Patterns for the Barbarians' Settlement on Roman Soil," in Chrysos-Schwarcz, eds., *Das Reich und die Barbaren* (Vienna 1989) 17.

³² The testimony of Ausonius' *Ordo* on demographic explosion at Toulouse, and with it considerable extension of the suburbia, relates to the fourth century. The appearance of the Goths on the Aquitanian economic scene has yet to be analysed in the context of market forces.

³³ See *NVal.1* (*Codex Euricianus* 438), *NVal. 32* (*Codex Euricianus* 451), and *NMaj. 7*, esp. 7.14.

³⁴ See also T. Burns ("The Settlement of 418," in Drinkwater/Elton, *Gaul*, p.53-63), who also cites Philostratus, *HE* 12.4-5 as specific evidence that the the Visigoths were "allotted a part of the land of the Gauls for farming."

³⁵ See *Codex Theodosianus*, passim.

ble to apply existing laws which offered an ingenious manner of sorting out land divisions in a perfectly legal and acceptable way, namely veterans, rights. Numerous laws granted veterans of the Roman army land-tenure as well as many exemptions which were intended to assist the soldier-turned-farmer to effect a successful professional transformation. *CTh* 7.20.2 granted veterans exemption from compulsory municipal services, public works, and the market tax. *CTh* 7.20.4 bestowed tax-exempt status on the veteran and his family, while *CTh* 7.20.3 assured the grant of vacant lands which the veterans could hold untaxed in perpetuity. A veteran was also entitled to receive measures of grain and funding for the purchase of equipment. Another law encouraged veterans to cultivate the neglected properties of absent owners and lands which had not been tilled for a while. The similarities between these legal benefits and what is known of the conditions of the treaties which the Roman government repeatedly concluded with its Gothic allies are striking. Above all, it made plain sense to maintain the Goths in a lifestyle to which they had been accustomed for at least a century and a half, namely as peasants and not as city dwellers.³⁶

As for the means by which individual Visigoths acquired property, one may suggest that the Visigothic settlement of 418 was comprised of several elements. It involved the actual partition of land, both urban and rural holdings, although the ratio of distribution need not always have been the 2:1 of the classical *hospitalitas*, as seen in the references to the Roman *tertia*. Property divisions and Gothic settlement were not uniform: some districts were affected more than others, some lands (as seen below) were partitioned later than others, and the pattern of initial settlement corresponded to the varying economic factors, particularly where the *res privatae* were located and where vacant lands invited new labor.³⁷ Finally, as seen above, the main beneficiary of the entire transaction was the Visigothic monarch, and his control of the settlement process contributed significantly to the institutionalization and relative stability of the kingdom of Toulouse. Gothic legislation of the fifth and the sixth century

³⁶ Sid. Apoll. Apollinaris, *Ep.* 5.13.2; 2.1.3.

³⁷ The *Lex Romana Visigothorum* omits all the imperial laws relating to deserted lands, an omission due perhaps to the disappearance of this category owing to Gothic settlers. This legal corpus also replaced the term *res privata* with *res* (or *domus*) *domenica*, suggesting the extent of the control which the Gothic monarch had over these properties. See also Jones, *LRE* 1.249.

demonstrates that the king succeeded the Roman emperor as the largest land owner in the region.³⁸

Visigothic Expansion: The Dynamics of Internal Frontiers

The Early Years

In 418, the Visigothic future in Aquitania was by no means secure, and no one could have foreseen the development of an independent kingdom that would eventually supplant the Roman imperial state in southwestern Gaul.³⁹ From its very inception, for a number of reasons, the kingdom of Toulouse, confined by the ocean on one side, the Loire on another, and elsewhere by traditional provincial boundaries that did not correspond to any conspicuous geographical features, was bound to transgress its appointed limits. The directions of its expansion were twofold—toward the Mediterranean and into Spain. Both areas had been familiar to the Goths, because they had trod the *Via Domitia*, which connected Italy to Spain in the early 410s, and had fought in Spain between 416 and 418. Several motivations were at work behind the repeated and continuous attempts of the Gothic kings to expand their domain. The first was individual monarchic ambitions which dictated repeated exploitation of Roman weaknesses, namely Alaric's chief legacy. Another was the long tradition of rivalries between chieftains and the necessity to provide diversion, employment, and booty to loyal followers while retaining a position of superiority over potential competitors for the throne.

A critical factor in the constant mobility of the Aquitanian Goths was the process of fashioning a new monarchical ideal for the Aquitanian-based king along the lines of the Roman imperial model. Athaulf had understood the function of legal institutions in a settled society; his immediate successors were more impressed by the prestige of a Roman emperor as a perennial victor over all enemies.⁴⁰

³⁸ *CTh* 10.4.1 = *Breviarium Alarici* 10.3.1; *CTh* 10.4.2 = *Breviarium Alarici* 10.3.2.

³⁹ See Heather, *Goths*, p.224, "The emergence of a separate Gothic kingdom in Gaul was no certainty."

⁴⁰ Orosius, *Hist.adu.pag.* 7.43, with comments of J. Harries, *Sidonius*, 61, on Athaulf's initiating a change of emphasis in Gothic dealings with Rome, and on desiring to create a "state."

Like an emperor, the Gothic kings had to excel on the battlefields, which produced heroes and endowed authority. They did not, however, neglect the function of the ruler as an exclusive source of legal pronouncement, and the surviving law codes of Euric and Alaric attest to their roles in this regard.

Two trends in Gothic military activities can be discerned: the first, expeditions under Roman standards; the second, independent initiatives. The former were largely aimed at the Iberian peninsula, the latter directed the steps of the restless Gothic warriors to Arles. The years immediately following the settlement in Aquitania appear to have been relatively calm, if the silence of our sources can be trusted. They were punctuated by a single expedition to Spain under Roman banners, in which the Gothic contingent appears to have been responsible for a dismal defeat at the hands of the Vandals. The harassed provincials in the Iberian peninsula had to wait another twenty years for another Roman army to succor them from the Suevi and from local Bagaudae. As before, the troops included Gothic recruits and likewise suffered defeat. The Goths began to find success in Spain only when they fought there on their own initiative from the mid 450s.

In 425, during the long reign of Theoderic I (418-451), the Goths began their periodic and largely vain expeditions against Arles.⁴¹ The choice of the capital of the Gallic prefecture and a city so far inside Roman territory perhaps was a symbolic gesture demonstrating to the government that the Gothic monarch was in a good position to renegotiate the treaty.⁴² A pattern developed. When the Romans were busy elsewhere, the Visigoths marched south-east to the coast, thereby violating the *foedus*. A campaign against Narbonne in 436, for example, led to a counterattack in 437 by an enterprising Roman commander, Litorius.⁴³ In 439, this same Litorius invaded Visigothic territory, but was defeated in a battle near Toulouse and subsequently died in captivity.⁴⁴ This was in fact the last time that a Roman government tried to substantiate its claim to its Aquitanian provinces by attacking the Goths on their own territory. The *foedus*

⁴¹ Harries, *Sidonius*, 125, on the small scale of these expeditions.

⁴² Wolfram, *Goths*, 181, remarks with accuracy and charm that the march on Arles had become a sort of initiation process of the renewal of the Romano-Gothic *foedus*.

⁴³ See *Prosp. Chron.* s.a. 436; *Hyd. Chron.* 107, 110, s.a. 436-347.

⁴⁴ *PLRE II*, p.685, prefers sources that claim Litorius was killed in the battle, but Salvian, *De gub.* 7.39-43, states clearly that he starved to death in captivity: *longo tempore et diturna in ergastula barbarorum tabe consumptus*, and *Sid.Apoll., Carm.* 7.300-301, *capto ... Litorio, concurs*.

was then renewed by the Gallic prefect Eparchius Avitus. The terms are unknown, but coming on the heels of a decisive Gothic victory, it must have been advantageous to the Goths; perhaps it acknowledged a greater degree of Gothic sovereignty in Aquitania.⁴⁵ Although one cannot cite a specific date for the birth of a Gothic “kingdom” in Aquitania, the Roman retreat from Toulouse in 439 may serve as a convenient point of departure.

Two events during the 450s brought a change in the balance of power between the Goths and Romans. First of all, in 451, Attila and the Huns invaded Gaul, a threat that necessitated careful negotiations between Aëtius, the Roman commander, and Theodoric I of Toulouse. These dire straits, if Jordanes is to be believed, seem to have compelled Valentinian III to acknowledge Theodoric’s sovereignty over the Gallic territories that the Visigoths had acquired in 418.⁴⁶ The battle of the Catalaunian Fields in 451, in which the Romans, Visigoths, and Franks combined their forces to defeat the Huns, was the only one fought on Gallic soil with the Goths and the Romans on the same side. It also seems to mark a new phase of Visigothic independence. An Aquitanian inscription dating to the brief reign of Thorismund (451-453) calls him *dominus noster*, suggesting that the Visigothic kings now saw themselves as equal in status, and presumably authority, to the Roman emperors.⁴⁷ The battle also was significant in that, as will be discussed below, it later was identified as a *terminus post quem* for making legal claims.

The Visigoths and Avitus

A second turning point in the relations between Goths and Romans at this time was the ephemeral reign of the emperor Avitus (455-456).⁴⁸ In 410, Alaric the Goth had sacked the Eternal City. Forty-

⁴⁵ Sidonius states only, “you, Avitus, renewed the treaty, the reading of your pages tamed the savage king... the letter of a Roman voided what you, barbarian, conquered...” (*foedus, Avite, novas; saevum tua pagina regem lecta domat... littera Romani cassat quod, barbare, vincis*); see also Hyd. *Chron.* 117 s.a. 439, *inter Romanos et Gothos pax efficitur*.

⁴⁶ An embassy sent by Valentinian to Theodoric: *auxiliumini etiam rei publicae, cuius membrum tenetis. quam sit autem nobis expetenda vel amplexanda societas, nostis interrogate consilia* (Jord. *Get.* 188).

⁴⁷ *Bordeaux 2000 ans d’histoire* (Bordeaux 1992).

⁴⁸ See R. Mathisen, “Avitus, Italy and the East in AD 455-456,” *Byzantion* 51(1981) pp.232-247; and “The Third Regnal Year of Eparchius Avitus,” *Classical Philology* 80(1985) 192-196.

five years later his grandson, Theodoric II, “atoned” for the “crime” by bringing to Rome an emperor of his own making.⁴⁹ When the imperial throne fell vacant after the deaths of Valentinian III and Petronius Maximus in 455, the Gallo-Roman aristocracy and the Gothic court espoused the candidacy of Eparchius Avitus, an aristocrat from the Auvergne who had not only a good record of service in the Roman provincial and military administration, but also close ties to the Visigoths.

The circumstances of the Gothic support for Avitus remain obscure. It seems that the Goths took advantage of the disarray in Rome once again to violate the *foedus*. Knowing Avitus’ past history of dealing with the Goths, the new emperor Maximus appointed him master of soldiers in Gaul—in itself a rather unusual example of a senator whose career had been civil being given a military appointment⁵⁰—and assigned him the task of inducing the Goths to adhere to the *foedus*. For Sidonius has Avitus say to Theodoric, “I beg for the old treaty.”⁵¹ Theodoric obliged, but in an unexpected way, by supporting Avitus in a bid for the imperial throne.

This episode illustrates an attempt of the local Gallic nobility to cooperate with the court in Toulouse. With no army at their disposal the nobles clearly needed the military support of the Goths. This rapprochement between Romans and Goths began auspiciously. Avitus headed to Italy, where he occupied the imperial throne without opposition, and Theodoric turned his attentions to Spain. According to Sidonius’ panegyric on Avitus, delivered in Rome on 1 January 456, the Visigoths were to provide fresh and much needed blood to boost Rome’s weakness. At one point Avitus calls attention to his influence at the Gothic court, saying, “I once was accustomed to manage the affairs of the Goths.”⁵² Sidonius also gave his own version of the secret of empire, saying that Avitus realized “that he could not conceal from the Gauls the fact that with him as emperor, the Goths would submit.”⁵³ Theodoric himself, in words that echoed Athaulf’s famous utterance about the mitigating power of *Romania*

⁴⁹ As a family friend claimed, Sid. Apoll., *Carm.* 7.504-509.

⁵⁰ Sidonius notes this anomaly when he has Avitus say, *ad lituos post iura vocat voluitque sonoris / praeconem mutare tubis* (“he summoned me, after I had enforced the laws, to the trumpets call, and wished me to exchange the cry of the usher for that of the tuba”).

⁵¹ *foedera prisca precor* (Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 7.469).

⁵² *tractare solebam / res Geticas olim* (*Carm.* 7.471-472).

⁵³ *Gallos scires non posse latere / quod possint servire Getae te principe* (*Carm.* 7.520-521).

over *Gothia*, confessed, "Though you, the laws of Romulus have long been pleasing to me ... you taught me even then to desire peace."⁵⁴ And a Gallic aristocrat recalled how the combined vigor of the Gauls and the Goths had for long supported "the shade of an empire" which Rome had become.⁵⁵

These were lofty sentiments, but hardly calculated to endear Avitus and Theodoric to the Italian audience of the panegyric. Rome's foreign policy, especially toward barbarians, had been conducted, at least ideologically, from a position of strength. A reminder of Rome's dire straits was a mistake for which the Gallic emperor paid after he inexplicably decided to send his Gothic troops away. In the fall of 456, Avitus, faced by unrest in Rome and opposition from the Italian high command, retreated to Gaul. In an attempt to return, he was defeated by the generals Ricimer and Majorian, and forcibly consecrated bishop of Piacenza. He died early in 457 while attempting to return to Gaul.

Avitus' failure marked a crucial turning point in the history of the Roman west. On the one hand, it marked the final breach in the gap between Rome and Gaul and contributed to the strengthening of a separatist Gallic identity.⁵⁶ And on the other, it brought a new sense of self-identity to the Goths, who, abandoning, it would seem, the last pretense of adhering to the old *foedus*, now proceeded enthusiastically to pursue territorial gain at the expense of the now impotent Roman government. Beforehand, Gothic military expeditions seem to have resulted in little real territorial gain, but beginning with the reign of Avitus, the Gothic kingdom expanded by leaps and bounds.

Visigothic Territorial Expansion

After 456, the Roman government was never again able to resist Gothic expansion effectively, as the Goths took advantage of both perceived and real Roman weakness. In the early 460s, Sidonius reflected on a situation characterized by "great vicissitudes of emperors and the unsteady fortunes of the state."⁵⁷ Statistics support this

⁵⁴ "mihi Romula dudum / per te iura placent ... iam pacem tum velle doces" (Sid. Apoll., *Carm.* 7.498).

⁵⁵ Sid. Apoll., *Carm.* 7.540-1, *portavimus umbram imperii*.

⁵⁶ Mathisen, *Aristocrats*, 20f.

⁵⁷ *Epist.* 1.11.10: *ingentes principum motus atque inaequalem rei publicae status*; see Harries, *Sidonius*, 100.

sad observation which did not escape the watchful eyes of the rulers of Toulouse: between 455 and 475, the Goths in Aquitania had two rulers; the Roman government saw no less than seven emperors. The deaths of Aëtius, Valentinian III, Petronius Maximus, and Avitus between 454 and 457 heralded a change in Visigothic tactics and standing vis-à-vis the empire. During and after the reign of Avitus, for example, the Goths occupied most of Spain. At the same time, the Goths also began to assert their independence by undertaking diplomatic missions of their own. Hydatius records a string of independent diplomatic activities of the Goths in Spain beginning with the rather instructive story of a legation from Theodoric II to the Suevi in 456 and a simultaneous Roman diplomatic mission, an overlapping which must have confused the Suevic king who sent both missions back home empty-handed.⁵⁸

In Gaul, Gothic territorial ambitions turned again toward Narbonne, not unnaturally, because Narbonne was Aquitania's chief gate to the Mediterranean and thence to Spain. The Goths once again used their genius for obtaining diplomatic concessions from the Romans. In 462, Theodoric II (453-466), son and successor once-removed of Theodoric I, took possession of the city, not as a result of military prowess but, in this case, as a gift from the Italian government. The emperor Majorian had been executed in 461 by his barbarian Master of Soldiers Ricimer, who then had set his puppet Severus on the western throne. It is possible that the cession was made in exchange for Visigothic assistance against the Gallic loyalist Aegidius, who refused to accept Severus. Indeed, in 463 Aegidius killed Fredericus, the brother of Theodoric II, in a battle near Orléans.⁵⁹ The cession of Narbonne demonstrates the effectiveness of the persistent Gothic combination of continuous threats and occasional expeditions. It further shows the futility of the 418 attempt to contain the barbarians within recognized provincial boundaries and the determination of the Gothic kings to control the city that ensured their maritime access to Spain.

Under Euric (466-484), the most aggressive of all the kings of Toulouse, the Auvergne came under Visigothic attack. The end fi-

⁵⁸ Hyd. *Chron.* 170 s.a. 456. Hyd. *Chron.* 87 (96) s.a. 431, also cites a diplomatic mission of a Vetto from Gothic Aquitania to Gallacia (*Vetto, qui de Gothis dolose ad Galliciam venerat, sine aliquo effectu redit ad Gothos*). The entry may be an unusually early demonstration of Gothic ambitions to play a role in Spanish politics.

⁵⁹ See *PLRE II*, p.12.

nally came in the mid 470s. In 475, the Italian emperor Julius Nepos ceded the Auvergne to Euric in exchange for a reduction of the Visigothic pressure on Provence.⁶⁰ Subsequently, after the exile of Nepos and the forced retirement of the usurper Romulus in 476, "Euric, king of the Visigoths, recognizing the feebleness of the Roman empire, delivered Arles and Marseilles to his own authority."⁶¹ By this time, of course, there was no authority left that could resist the Visigothic advance, and the capture of the remaining cities of Provence was accomplished not, it seems, by force, but by simple occupation, and marks the demise of Roman Gaul. The Visigothic realm now extended to the Rhone in the east and the Mediterranean in the south. The Loire proved the most stable frontier of the Gothic kingdom and the only one not breached by the Gothic monarchs. Perhaps the independent spirit of the dwellers of Armorica intimidated even the Goths, although when the Britons attacked the Goths on their own territory (around Bourges) they suffered a signal defeat.⁶² Otherwise, Euric's ambitions knew no bounds. In 484, he planned to invade Italy itself, but he died in Arles before this scheme could be carried out.

Visigothic Policies

What emerges from this overview of Visigothic expansion is the role that warfare played in the policies of the Gothic monarchs. Visigothic troops were on the march even when their objectives were unattainable. Most of the Gallic cities were walled, and the Goths, at least at the beginning of the fifth century, had little success at siege warfare.⁶³ This mattered little for a people whose kings were made and unmade by wars. In 395 Alaric owed his elevation, we are told, to a fear of the debilitating effects of a long peace.⁶⁴ The issue of royal succession was centered on the attitudes of the candidates toward the Roman Em-

⁶⁰ See Mathisen, *Factionalism*, pp.268-271.

⁶¹ *Euricus rex Visigothorum Romani regni vacillationem cernens Arelatum et Massiliam propriae subdidit ditioni* (Jord. *Get.* 244).

⁶² Jordanes, *Get.* 237-8, dating the event to the reign of Anthemius (468-71) and connecting it with Riothamus; Greg. Tur. *HF* 2.18 for the location.

⁶³ Sidonius refers to the *seminutas ... arces* ("ruined fortifications") of Narbonne after the Visigothic occupation of 462, but because the government surrendered the city to the Goths peacefully, it may be that the Goths pulled down the fortifications after occupying the city.

⁶⁴ Jordanes, *Getica* 146. Cf. Sid.Apoll., *Carm.*, 7.416-430.

pire. A divergence from the traditional path of war often resulted in an untimely death, as that of Athaulf in 416. His successor, Vallia, signed a pact that turned the Goths into Roman soldiers and kept them fully engaged on the battle-field. Theodoric I, Thorismund, Theodoric II and Euric did not give their warriors respite from war. And yet, what is curious is that nearly all the Visigothic gains in Gaul occurred through diplomatic or peaceful means, not by force of conquest.

Turning internal into ever-changing external frontiers also meant a constant drain on Gothic manpower. When campaigns changed from temporary assaults to permanent acquisition, the Gothic monarch had to establish a visible and effective presence. The pressure on the available Gothic manpower in Aquitania must have increased tremendously during Euric's reign and contributed, in the short term, to the quick collapse of his kingdom just twenty years after his death. Traditionally, Gothic society had been inclusive, ready to welcome new "recruits" at any time. The Gothic court in Aquitania attracted various warriors, as a story about an Ostrogothic noble who kept his identity a secret but distinguished himself in Visigothic service nicely illustrates.⁶⁵ In the 470s, the Visigothic population was augmented by another infusion of Ostrogoths.⁶⁶ And, as seen below, even Gallo-Romans were absorbed into the Gothic army. But one wonders, given the additional demands of the Spanish conquests, whether the supply was able to keep pace with the demand.

As for the conceptual nature of the Visigothic kingdom, it has been suggested that Euric launched his expansionist campaigns with the aim of creating a nation-state and a recognizable successor to the Roman empire.⁶⁷ One may go even further. Euric was in fact a most zealous imitator of the Roman ideal of emperorship. As heir to the oldest Germanic kingdom established on Roman soil he also held a prior claim to a right to fill the power vacuum which the weakening of imperial power created in Gaul. Nor was he the first Gothic ruler to see wars of conquest as a natural extension of the building up of a new royal image. The first monarch of Toulouse, Theodoric I, had his son, Theodoric II, tutored in Roman literature and law, precisely

⁶⁵ Jordanes, *Getica* 174-5, 251. The story is dated to the beginning of the reign of Theodoric I (418-451).

⁶⁶ Jord. *Get.* 284.

⁶⁷ Harries, *Sidonius*, 222, supported by Jordanes, *Getica*, 237 who adds that Euric aimed to hold Gaul by his own right.

the type of education which one would expect of an heir to the imperial throne.

Visigothic "nationalism" was blatantly expressed by its most aggressive representative, Euric, when he insisted on the presence of translators during negotiations between his court and imperial emissaries.⁶⁸ Euric even responded in Gothic and his words were then translated into Latin. The king knew Latin rather well, of course. He not only sponsored an entire law code in that language but had been reared in a household where his brother could recite Virgil. By the 470s, however, when the occupants of the imperial throne sent ambassadors to the Gothic court, Euric's position enabled him to act precisely as an emperor would have done. Although the relations between Rome and Toulouse became irreparably damaged, the Gothic monarchs never failed to imitate the only imperial model which still carried the prestige of age and tradition. As the Roman presence in Gaul dwindled to a mere representation of sporadic officials, the power of imperial ceremony invaded the courts of the barbarian heirs of Augustus.⁶⁹

Land Tenure II

The expansion of the kingdom of Toulouse after 456 once again brings up the question of land tenure. In what light did the Gothic monarchs regard the territories that they annexed? These newly acquired regions presumably also provided lands for Gothic settlers who wished to migrate from Aquitania and live elsewhere.⁷⁰ A Gothic presence in Narbonensis, which must have begun after the annexation of Narbonne in 462, demonstrates the attraction of the new territories. Did subsequent expansion of Visigothic domains entail the same principles of land acquisition and distribution as had existed in 418? Or did there come to be two categories of territory administered by the Gothic rulers?

The Gothic settlement clearly brought great disruption in landholding patterns, as both Goths and Romans came and went, de-

⁶⁸ Ennodius, *Vita Epiphani*, 90.

⁶⁹ S.G. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1981), 222f. M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge 1986).

⁷⁰ This was surely the case for the newly acquired territories in Spain, where the methods of land transfer also are most unclear.

pending on the vicissitudes of the times. Although the processes by which such land transfer occurred are extremely unclear, some suggestive evidence does survive. Especially instructive is a section of the *Codex Euricianus*, issued in the late 470s, dealing with land tenure and clearly intended to bring a return to stability, now that Roman authority had totally disappeared. They dealt in particular with changes in boundaries, with overturning illegal changes and implementing new changes legally. Two of the laws of the code attempted to prohibit what apparently was a common practice: the removal and relocation of boundary stones. Every attempt was to be made to restore the original boundary markings, even if by resorting to markings made on trees. Nor did length of possession permit one to claim the property of another.⁷¹ Furthermore, all property transactions that had occurred *ante adventum Gothorum* were allowed to stand, that is to say, the reopening of transactions closed under the Romans could not be reopened in hopes of obtaining a more favorable decision under the Goths.⁷²

The code also attempted to sort out property claims involving Goths and Romans, and in particular, those resulting from the divisions of land. One ruling, which unfortunately is fragmentary at a crucial point, reads:

... [si ... quas] habent Romani, fuerint, tunc Gothi [in]grediantur in loco hospitum et ducan[t ubi] terminum fuerat ostensus [sic]. Tunc iudex, quos certiores agnoverit, faciat eos s[a]cramenta praebere, quod terminum s[ine] ulla fraude monstraverint. Nullus n[o]vum terminum sine consorte part[is al]terius aut sine <in>spectore constituat...⁷³

... [if] there were [lands eligible for distribution which] Romans possess, then let Goths enter in the role of “guests” and let them consider where the boundary had been established. Then the judge shall compel those whom he accepted as knowledgeable to swear oaths that they pointed out the boundary without any fraud. Let no one establish a new boundary without a partner from the other side or without an inspector...

This passage seems to refer to property that was eligible for distribution to Goths, but which for some reason had not been divided.

⁷¹ *Cod.Eur.* 274-275.

⁷² *Si quodcumque ante adventum Gothorum de alicuius fundi iure remotum est et ... translatum est ... atque a Romanis antiquitus probatur adiunctum, iure consistat... (Cod.Eur. 276).*

⁷³ *Cod.Eur.* 276. There is a lacuna before *habent Romani*. Mommsen (*Codex Theodosianus* 1.4) suggests *si vero fundorum termini in tertiis, quas...*; we prefer to retain the sense without being nearly so specific regarding the key word *tertiis*.

Assuming that the word *consors* is used here in its technical sense, that is, as referring to the Goth who partitioned land with a Roman, this passage describes the method by which Roman land which had somehow hitherto escaped partitioning continued to be divided with Goths even as late as the 470s.

This conclusion would seem to be borne out by the following section, which reads:

*Sortes Gothicas et tertias [Roma]norum quae intra L annis non fuer[int] revocatae, nullo modo repetantur. Si[mili]ter de fugitivis, qui intra L annis in[ven]ti non fuerint, non liceat eos ad ser[vitium] revocare. Antiquos vero terminos [sic] stare iubemus, sicut et bonae mem[ori]ae pater noster in alia lege praecepi[t]; et alias omnes causas, seu bonas seu m[al]as, qu[ae] intra XXX annis definitae non fue[ri]nt, vel mancipia, quae in contentione [po]sita fuerint, sive debita, quae exacta [no]n <fuerint>, nullo modo repetantur. Et si quis [po]st hunc XXX annorum numerum cau[s]am movere temptaverit, iste numerus [ei] resistat, et libram auri cui rex iusse[rit] coactus exsolvat. Omnes autem cau[s]as, quae in regno bonae memoriae patris [no]stri seu bonae seu malae actae sunt, [no]n permittimus penitus commoveri...*⁷⁴

The Gothic “allotments” and Roman “thirds” which have not been claimed within fifty years in no way are to be demanded anew. Likewise regarding fugitives who have not been apprehended within fifty years; it is not permitted to recall them to servitude. Truly, we decree that ancient boundaries are to remain, just as Our Father of blessed memory prescribed in another law, and all other cases, with or without merit, which have not been settled within thirty years, or property, which has been in dispute, or debts, which have not been paid, in no way shall be reclaimed. And if anyone after this period of thirty years tries to undertake a case, let that number prevent him, and let him be compelled to pay a pound of gold to whomever the king commands. Moreover, we forbid any cases, which were settled, with or without merit, during the reign of Our Father of blessed memory, in any way to be disturbed....

This passage clearly refers to the Gothic “allotments” and Roman “thirds” that resulted from divisions of property between Romans and Goths subsequent to the original Gothic settlement of 418—and also seems once again to put to rest notions regarding a distribution of revenue.⁷⁵ A similar reference is found in Sidonius, who in the 470s spoke of a *limes sortis Gothicae*,⁷⁶ perhaps a reference to an internal

⁷⁴ *MGH Leges* pp.5-6. Sections of the law are restored from the *Lex Visigothorum* 10.2-3 (which deleted, for example, the references to Euric’s father).

⁷⁵ As does *Cod.Eur.* 312, discussed below.

⁷⁶ *Sid.Apoll. Epist.* 7.6.10; cf. the African *sortes Vandalorum*. The word *sors* conventionally referred to the land allotment allocated to a barbarian.

frontier that enclosed the territory covered by the original treaty of 418. This could suggest that new lands acquired by the Goths after the initial settlement also were eligible for partition, and were treated the same way as lands acquired in 418.

This particular law, among other things, must have been intended to settle a welter of conflicting claims over land by both Goths and Romans that had accrued during the period of Visigothic expansion. Claims involving the land distributions had a fifty-year statute of limitations, presumably fifty years after the property first had become eligible for distribution. If this restriction were intended to begin immediately, it would mean that land that became eligible for division after c.430 could be litigated. This already would suggest that the distribution of the *sortes Gothicae* and *tertia Romanae* had continued after 418. But it might be reasonable, also, to suppose that those who might have claims were given a period of time to make them. In that case, the law perhaps was effectively meant to commence with the settlement of 439.

For a specific example of the kinds of claims this law was intended to deal with, one might note, for example, the case of the sons of Paulinus of Pella, who returned to Bordeaux in the late 450s to attempt to reclaim some of their family property, but could only do so “in company with a Gothic fellow-claimant.”⁷⁷ And this law also confirms the supposition resulting from the previous law, that is, that some eligible lands had escaped partitioning, but still could be distributed later.

Also significant is the ruling that ancient boundary markings continued to be valid, a reissuance of a ruling from the reign of Euric’s father, Theoderic I (418-451). Both laws would reflect the jockeying over property that clearly went on during the period of Visigothic expansion. A case in point is provided, again, by Paulinus of Pella. Sometime before the composition of his *Eucharisticon* (ca.460) he had a Gothic buyer for some of his property. The passage is obscure, but appears to refer to a quitclaim for any remaining interest that he had in his family’s former Aquitanian properties, which would have been located in Aquitania Secunda, the area assigned for Visigothic settlement in 418.⁷⁸ Paulinus had apparently lost most of his inheritance

⁷⁷ *Gothico quamquam consorte colono* (Paul.Pel. *Euch.* 502).

⁷⁸ “ut, cum iam penitus fructus de rebus avitis [sc. in Aquitania] sperare ulterius nullos me posse probasses... emptorem mihi ignotum de gente Gothorum

about 415, not to the Goths initially but to Honorius' government, since his lands were confiscated as a result of his support for Attalus, the Visigothic nominee.⁷⁹ Such lands would have been a ready target for partitioning. Furthermore, the aforementioned Gothic *consors colonus* who several decades later briefly shared the remainder of the family's Bordeaux property, may be none other than the Gothic buyer of Paulinus' remaining property claims. Upon the death of both sons, he may have wished to obtain clear title over the rest of the land. Paulinus may have considered the payment miraculous, but the meticulous Goth merely wanted to ensure that his ownership would not be contested in the future.

Finally, for other cases that had not yet been settled, the statute of limitations was only thirty years. This would put the original cut-off point for claims at ca. 450, that is, at the time of the battle of the *campus Mauriacus*, and the death of Theoderic I, in 451. That this is just what was intended is also suggested by the prohibition on re-initiating any claims that had been settled under Theoderic I (418-451). Coupled with the ruling that all settlements made prior to 418 likewise could not be challenged, it would appear that Euric saw 451, the date of the death of his father and the battle against the Huns, as a *terminus post quem* for all future litigation involving land tenure claims. And in this regard, one can only note that the Burgundians, too, chose the portentous battle against the Huns (even though they had not been involved) as the cut-off point for legal claims in their own kingdom.⁸⁰

excires, nostri quondam qui iuris agellum
mercari cupiens pretium transmitteret ultro,
haud equidem iustum, verumtamen accipienti
votivum, fateor..." (Euch. 572-581).

Some of the confusion over the location of the property has arisen because of an intervening three lines that referring to Paulinus poverty stricken condition at Marseilles; but Paulinus' statement that the payment had to be "transmitted" would seem to make it clear that the Gothic purchase was not located at Marseilles.

⁷⁹ Euch. 422f.

⁸⁰ Lex.Burg.17.1, *omnes omnino causae, quae ... habitae sunt et non sunt finitae usque ad pugnam Mauriacensem...*

*Rulers and subjects in Visigothic Aquitania:
The Social and Political Culture of the Kingdom*

The Court

An interested observer of the Gothic court in the middle of the fifth century depicted an image of a Gothic monarch who, both in public and in private, projected power, prestige, and confidence.⁸¹ In an enchanting description sent by Sidonius Apollinaris to his brother-in-law, Theodoric II is portrayed as a leader careful to conduct his daily routine in full public view. The king punctually attends church services, receives embassies, looks after financial matters, goes hunting, offers lavish dinner parties, plays dice, listens to petitions, and allows himself to be entertained. In all cases the monarch is attended either by his retinue (*comitatus*), or by his armed nobles (*comites armigeri*), and guards (*pellitorum turba satellitum*). Also present are the courtiers (*aulici*), who dispensed patronage and served as links between the king and his subjects.⁸² Subsequently, as a reluctant subject of Euric, Sidonius portrayed him as a victorious monarch, dictating treaties and issuing laws to vanquished nations.⁸³ He asserted, "Your forces are called for, Euric, so that the gallant Garonne, through its martial settlers, might defend the feeble Tiber."⁸⁴ This is, of course, precisely the type of behavior expected of a Roman emperor.

The Visigothic court became a new source of power and patronage, and enticed Roman petitioners of various kinds. In the late 460s, the Gallic aristocrat Evodius, having been summoned to Toulouse "at the order of the king," attempted to influence Euric by presenting to queen Ragnahilda an engraved silver bowl.⁸⁵ Sidonius himself apparently was a frequent visitor with petitions of his own: in his description of Theodoric II, he noted, "When I wish to obtain some favor, I achieve a favorable result when I lose at the dice table in order to win my case."⁸⁶ Here also is a rare insight into the relation-

⁸¹ Sid.Apoll., *Epist.* 1.2, see H. Sivan, "Sidonius Apollinaris, Theodoric II, and Gothic-Roman Politics from Avitus to Anthemius," *Hermes* 117 (1989) 85-94.

⁸² Sid.Apoll., *Epist.* 1.2.9.

⁸³ Sid.Apoll., *Epist.* 8.3.3; 9.4; 9 (*car.*).

⁸⁴ "Eorice, tuae manus rogantur / ut Martem validus per inquilinum / defendat tenuem Garumna Thybrim" (*Epist.* 8.9.5 *car.* 42-44).

⁸⁵ Sid.Apoll. *Epist.* 4.8.1-5.

⁸⁶ *etiam ego aliquid obsecraturus feliciter vincor, quando mihi ad hoc tabula perit, ut causa salvetur* (*Epist.* 1.2.8).

ship between the king and the Gothic aristocracy—they are his hunting companions and play-mates, men who appreciate the king's “good sport” attitude.

A rather different portrayal of royal hospitality, moreover, is found in the *vita* of bishop Vivianus of Saintes. During the reign of Theoderic II, Vivianus was invited to sup with the king at Toulouse. He accepted, but was put in an awkward position when he was offered a cup which had been shared by the Arian clerics in attendance. He had no choice but to refuse, and as a result was imprisoned for this insult to the king.⁸⁷

The court also attracted Romans, both laymen and ecclesiastics, in a more official capacity, often a diplomatic one. In 439, for example, the Visigoths themselves were said to have used Nicene bishops, including Orientius of Auch, as ambassadors to the Roman general Aëtius.⁸⁸ In 451, Theoderic I was visited by both the future emperor Eparchius Avitus, and Anianus, bishop of Orléans, who had been sent by the imperial government in an attempt to secure Gothic cooperation against the Huns.⁸⁹ In the same year, Tonantius Ferreolus, the prefect of Gaul, was able to induce Theoderic to lift an opportunistic siege of Arles—supposedly at a dinner party and presumably in exchange for concessions of some sort.⁹⁰ Circa 470, another Avitus served as negotiator between the imperial government and the Goths, and at about the same time, the aristocrat Simplicius represented Bourges in the same capacity.⁹¹

Even later, in 474, the emperor Nepos (474-475) chose Epiphanius of Pavia as his emissary to Euric at Toulouse.⁹² On this occasion, Epiphanius, like Vivianus before him, was invited to dinner with the Visigothic king. Epiphanius, however, was more discreet. Rather than openly supping with the Arian clergy whom he knew would be there, he dissembled, saying that “he was not accustomed to eating out and wanted to get an early start two days hence.”⁹³ In point of fact, however, in spite of his hagiographer's pious claims, Epiphanius failed to resolve the issue—perhaps he had offended the Visigoths

⁸⁷ *VViviani* 6; *MGH SRM* 3.96-98.

⁸⁸ *Salv. De gub.* 7.9.39; *VOrientii* 5.

⁸⁹ *Sid. Apoll. Carm.* 7; *Fred. Chron.* 2.53.

⁹⁰ *ab Arelatensium portis ... te prandio removisse* (*Sid. Apoll. Epist.* 7.12.3)

⁹¹ *Sid. Apoll. Epist.* 3.1.4-5, 7.9.19.

⁹² *VEpiphaniū* 81ff.

⁹³ *cui excusavit dixitque sibi non esse in more positum alienis aliquando prandiū vesci, perendie se magis velle proficisci* (*VEpiph.* 92).

after all. As a result, four Gallic bishops then were sent to complete the negotiations; to one of them, Sidonius wrote, "Through you, the evils of treaties are expedited, through you, the agreements and conditions of both kingdoms are channeled."⁹⁴

At times, Gallo-Roman cooperation with the Gothic court became more complex—and dangerous. In the changing political climate in the 460s and 470s, it sometimes became necessary for influential Gauls to choose sides.⁹⁵ In 469, a group of Gallic aristocrats accused the popular ex-prefect Arvandus of collusion with the Gothic court. They even produced a letter in which Arvandus encouraged Euric to declare war against the emperor Anthemius and to divide Gaul between the Goths and the Burgundians.⁹⁶ Perhaps Arvandus aimed at an imperial throne obtained with the aid of the Goths and the Burgundians. The story is strange, and Sidonius' report omits crucial details, but it highlights the tension that existed in the ranks of the Gallo-Roman aristocracy. Euric's reaction is not recorded but he clearly stood to gain from internal divisions among the Gallo-Romans and from the support of powerful individuals like Arvandus.

Another Roman official, Seronatus, the "Vicar of the Seven Provinces" (*vicarius septem provinciarum*), was accused of attempting to substitute Gothic for Roman law and of helping the Visigoths to extend their settlement at Roman expense.⁹⁷ Seronatus' motives are unclear—he may have been merely a product of his times. For Sidonius, Seronatus was "the Catiline of our age,"⁹⁸ an epithet that expressed distaste but did little to explain what precisely Seronatus did. Other Gauls, too, were concerned about collaborators with the barbarians. A canon of the Council of Angers in 453, during the reign of Thorismund or Theoderic II, attempted to regulate relations between Romans and barbarians by decreeing, "If anyone is apprehended having been involved in the betrayal or capture of cities, let him not only be excluded from communion, let him also be excluded from dinner parties."⁹⁹ A most weighty sentence.

⁹⁴ *per vos mala foederum currunt, per vos regni utriusque pacta condicionesque portantur* (*Epist.* 7.6.10); for discussion see Mathisen, *Factionalism*, pp. 268–271.

⁹⁵ Mathisen, *Aristocrats*, 77f. for what follows.

⁹⁶ Sid. Apoll., *Epist.* 1.7.5.

⁹⁷ Sid. Apoll., *Epist.* 2.1.; 5.13.1.; 7.7.2.

⁹⁸ Ibid., *Epist.* 2.1.1.

⁹⁹ Canon 4: *Corp. chr. lat.* 148.138.

Romans in Gothic Service

Beginning in the 460s, some Gallo-Romans escaped the ambiguous positions of such as Arvandus and Seronatus by holding official positions in the evolving Gothic administration.¹⁰⁰ In 461. Such assistance, it would seem, was clearly needed. Territories that the Goths annexed appear to have been thinly guarded by Gothic garrisons, and kept under the control of a Gothic commander. Any civil administrative structure seems to have been thin at best. One recalls, for example, the aforementioned penalty that violators of the land claims legislation were to pay “a pound of gold to whomever the king commands”—as if it was unclear just who this would be.

As one would expect, however, given Gothic predilections, most of the attested Gallo-Roman service was in the military. For example, the Master of Soldiers Nepotianus “accepted Arborius as his successor at the behest of Theoderic.”¹⁰¹ In this instance, it would appear that the Gothic king simply was appropriating the right of appointing an official of the old Roman administration, who then presumably would report to him rather than to the emperor.

The next Visigothic king, the ambitious Euric, made more extensive use of Gallo-Roman officials, in both military and civil capacities. At the same time, he began to tailor the Visigothic administrative system to suit his own particular needs. The Gallo-Roman Victorius was appointed as *dux super septem civitates* (“Duke of the Seven Cities”) in Aquitania Prima; he also was referred to as a *comes* (“Count”), so perhaps his full title was *comes et dux Aquitaniae Primae* (“Count and Duke of First Aquitania”).¹⁰² Such an office had no clear Roman antecedent. Shortly thereafter, in 473, the *dux Hispaniarum* (“Duke of Spain”) Vincentius commanded Visigothic armies in Spain.¹⁰³ This, too, was a newly created position. In the same year, Vincentius was sent “like a Master of Soldiers” (*quasi magister militum*) by Euric to invade Italy.¹⁰⁴ Now, it usually is assumed that in this capacity Vincentius was just another Master of Soldiers, the successor to the aforementioned Arbo-

¹⁰⁰ See Mathisen, *Aristocrats*, pp.126-128.

¹⁰¹ *Nepotianus Theuderico ordinante Arborium accipit successorem* (*Chron.*213; cf.230); see *PLRE II*, p.129.

¹⁰² See Sid.Apoll. *Epist.*4.10.2; Greg.Tur., *HF* 2.20, *Vit.pat.*3, *Glor. mart.*44; and *PLRE II*, pp.1162-1164.

¹⁰³ *Chron.gall.*511.no.652; *PLRE II*, p.1168.

¹⁰⁴ *Chron.gall.*511 no.653.

rius.¹⁰⁵ But the insertion of the qualifier *quasi* indicates that this was not the case: the writer apparently believed that Vincentius fulfilled the function of a Master of Soldiers, but that he was not the genuine article. In this instance, the Roman writer was at a loss as to exactly what kind of official titulature to use. And once again, the developing Visigothic administration is seen to be diverging from its Roman model.

Another Gallo-Roman in Visigothic military service, in the late 470s, was the “admiral” Namatius of Saintes, who commanded naval forces defending the Atlantic coast against the raids of the Saxons. Sidonius cited a report that “recently you sounded the bugle in the fleet and performing the duties first of a sailor, then of a soldier, you wandered about the sinuous shores of the ocean in opposition to the serpentine pirate ships of the Saxons... You accompany the standards of a victorious people [sc. the Visigoths].”¹⁰⁶ Namatius’ official title was not cited. His multifarious responsibilities, however, would have been similar to those of the Roman *dux tractus armoricani ac nervicani* (“Duke of the Armorican and Nervian Region”), and here, again, the old Roman office apparently had been adapted to suit the needs of the Visigoths. On a lesser, yet in its own way equally revealing, scale, the Aquitanian Calminius, for example, served in the Visigothic army besieging Clermont; Sidonius purported to believe that his friend had been compelled to do so.¹⁰⁷ And many other Gauls, including Apollinaris, the son of Sidonius, fought on the Gothic, losing, side at the battle of Vouillé against the Franks in 507.¹⁰⁸

In the 470s, Gallo-Roman civil officials serving the Visigoths included Potentinus, whom Sidonius referred to as a “iudex,” that is, a provincial governor.¹⁰⁹ At the same time, or shortly thereafter, a Rusticus, who may have lived near Bordeaux, also seems to have been in office.¹¹⁰ But a more instructive example is provided by the jurist Leo of Narbonne, who by circa 474 was serving as a *consiliaris* (“Counsel-

¹⁰⁵ See *PLRE II*, p.1168.

¹⁰⁶ *nuper vos classicum in classe cecinisse atque inter officia nunc nautae, modo militis litoribus Oceani curvis inerrare contra Saxonum pandos myoparones ... victoris populi signa comitaris* (*Epist.* 8.6.13-18); see *PLRE II*, p.771.

¹⁰⁷ *Epist.* 5.12: *ad arbitrium terroris alieni ... in hoc solum captivis adducetis*. Note also Trygetius of Bazas, who had been on campaign outside Cadiz (*Epist.* 8.12.2), in either Roman or Visigothic service (*PLRE II*, p.1129).

¹⁰⁸ *Greg.Tur. HF* 2.37.

¹⁰⁹ *Epist.* 5.11.2, *iudicas ut qui aequissime*; see *PLRE II*, p.903.

¹¹⁰ See *Ruric.Epist.* 2.20,54; and *Sid.Apoll. Epist.* 2.11,8.11.3. *PLRE II*, (p.964) has the Rustici of Sidonius and Ruricius as two different individuals.

lor”) of Euric.¹¹¹ Ennodius of Pavia described him as “the moderator and arbiter of the counselors of the king.”¹¹² And Sidonius said of him, circa 476/477, “Today, solicitous of the whole world, you oversee in the councils of the most powerful king contracts and laws, war and peace, localities, regions, and rewards.”¹¹³ Leo preserved his position of *consiliarius* under Alaric II (484-507).¹¹⁴ So Leo would have been an influential person indeed. Others who served in a legal capacity were those, too numerous to mention individually, involved in the compilation in 506 of the *Breviarium* of Alaric II (discussed below).¹¹⁵

Legal Considerations

Aside from interactions with the Gothic kings, court, and administration, we know precious little about social hierarchy, class relations, and interaction among the Goths of the fifth century, and about relations between ordinary Goths and Romans. Formal social and economic interactions in the Visigothic kingdom were regulated by Visigothic legislation. The aforementioned *Codex Euricianus* is the earliest corpus of which we have any extant remains, although there are indications that Theodoric I or II, if not both, also issued laws. Sidonius, for example, mentioned “laws of Theoderic.”¹¹⁶ And the law code of Euric confirmed a law originally issued by his father, and also reaffirmed all the “cases that were prosecuted, either for good or ill, during the reign of our father of blessed memory.”¹¹⁷

The surviving portions of the *Codex Euricianus* amount to one sixth

¹¹¹ *PLRE II*, p.5.

¹¹² *consiliorum principis et moderator et arbiter, Leo nomine* (*VEpiphaniū* 85).

¹¹³ *cotidie ... per potentissimi consilia regis totius sollicitus orbis pariter negotia et iura, foedera et bella, loca spatia merita cognoscis*. Leo also was Euric’s speechwriter: *Sid.Apoll. Epist.* 8.3.3, see also *Carm.* 9.311-314, 14 *epist.* 2, 23.441-444, *Epist.* 4.22.1-3, 9.3.2 *carm.* 20, and 9.15.1 *carm.* 19-20.

¹¹⁴ *Greg.Tur. Glor.mart.* 92.

¹¹⁵ Note Hispanus (*PLRE II*, p.566: *Ruric.Epist.* 2.45); Elaphius (*PLRE II*, p.387: *Ruric.Epist.* 2.7; *Sid.Apoll. Epist.* 4.15); Praesidius (*PLRE II*, p.903: *Ruric. Epist.* 2.12); Anianus (*PLRE II*, p.90: *CTh*, Mommsen ed., 1.1.xxxiv-v); Timotheus (*PLRE II*, p.1121: *CTh*, Mommsen ed., 1.1.xxxiii-iv); Goiaricus (*PLRE II*, p.517 [possibly a German]: *CTh*, Mommsen ed., 1.1.xxxii-v); Eudomius (*PLRE II*, p.409: *Caes.Epist ad Ruric.* 7; *Ruric.Epist.* 2.39); Apollinaris (*PLRE II*, p.114: *HF* 2.37; *Avit. Epist.* 51); and Avitus (*AASS June IV* p.292).

¹¹⁶ *leges ... Theodorianas* (*Epist.* 2.1.3; see also *Carm.* 7.495-496).

¹¹⁷ *omnes autem cau[s]as, quae in regno bonae memoriae patris [no]stri, seu bonae seu male actae sunt, [no]n permittimus penitus commoveri...* (*Codex Euricianus* no.177: *MGH Leges* 1.5).

of its original length and touch on matters of property, buying and selling, loans and gifts.¹¹⁸ Euric, for his part, seems to have been concerned with preserving the identity of the Goths, but his code also safeguarded many institutions dear to the hearts of Roman aristocrats.¹¹⁹ As seen above, several laws concerned landholding, and would have reassured Gallo-Roman landowners in the Visigothic kingdom that their interests would be protected.

The *Codex Euricianus*, issued in Latin, also suggests a growing assimilation between Goths and Gallo-Romans, for its application appears to apply to both. It further reveals a context in which legislation had become an instrument of national unity. Euric codified his laws to assert Visigothic independence of any vestige of Roman authority, and his effort to do so is another indication of his desire to portray himself as an ersatz emperor. But he did so, moreover, at precisely the same time that his nobles were apparently adopting many elements of a Roman lifestyle themselves, and as a result would have felt more comfortable living within an established legal framework.

Social Interactions

The Visigothic legislation, of course, is primarily concerned with generalities, and does not provide many specific examples of interactions between Romans and Visigoths. For these, one must rely upon only very occasional *obiter dicta* in other sources, often relating to land and property. In some instances, one hears of amicable interactions, as in the aforementioned case of the Goth who purchased the Aquitanian property rights of Paulinus of Pella. Another person who benefited from the regularization of relations would have been Sidonius' friend Lampridius, who after having his property rights restored by Euric was described by Sidonius as a *civis* (citizen) of the Gothic kingdom.¹²⁰

At other times, no doubt, relations were more adversarial. Once again, the case of Paulinus of Pella, who seems to have lost much of his Aquitanian property, perhaps even to his relatives, comes to mind. At other times, too, it seems, Romans used sharp practices to

¹¹⁸ Only about sixty of the original 350 clauses survive, many of them fragmentary. The controversial collection which goes under the title of *Edictum Theoderici* appears to be Ostrogothic rather than Visigothic in origin.

¹¹⁹ It is not clear who was responsible for the actual compilation, but Gallo-Romans were undoubtedly involved: see Mathisen, *Aristocrats*, p. 219, for suggestions of the jurist Leo of Narbonne and Marcellinus of Narbonne.

¹²⁰ Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 8.9.3.

try to take advantage of less legally sophisticated Goths. The *Codex Euricianus* decreed,

[Ro]manus, qui Gotho donaverit rem, quae [est i]udicio repetenda, aut traderit [occup]andum, priusquam adversarium iu[dicio s]uperarit, si etiam eam Gothus inva[serit, tum] possessor rem suam per executio[nem iu]dicis quae occupata fuerint statim [recipi]at, nec de eius postmodum repeti[tione p]ulsetur, etiam si bona sit causa re[peten]tis; sed Romanus Gotho eiusdem meriti [rem aut pretium repensare cogatur, quia rem antequam vindicaret, fecit invadi].¹²¹

[Regarding] a Roman who grants to a Goth, or hands over for occupation, property which must be reclaimed in court before he has overcome his adversary in court: if the Goth has already occupied it, then let the original owner, through a judicial order, immediately reclaim the property which had been occupied [by the Goth], nor may [the original owner] be expelled subsequently by any demand for a return by the Roman claimant, even if there is good cause for such a demand; but let the Roman be compelled to reimburse the Goth with property or compensation of the same value, because he allowed the property to be occupied before he obtained ownership."

In this instance, it seems, Romans were avoiding their responsibility for partitioning their estates with Goths by attempting to pass off lands to which they did not have title: if they were apprehended doing so, they not only had to fulfill their obligations to the Goths, but they also lost any claim they had to the land.

Which is not to say that Goths, too, did not sometimes attempt to take advantage of Romans, relying not on legal chicanery but upon simple coercion. Gregory of Tours reports a case that occurred in the Visigothic kingdom during the reign of Alaric II. It seems that the Goth Sichlarius, a favorite of the king, attempted to take advantage of the Roman abbot Ursus, who had built a waterwheel near Tours. According to Gregory, "Sichlarius ... said to the abbot, 'Give me this mill ... and I will pay what you wish,' to which the abbot responded, 'We cannot give it up now, lest my brothers die of hunger,' and [Sichlarius replied], 'If you wish to yield it of your own free will, I thank you, but if not, I will take it by force...'"¹²² Eventually, says Gregory, the monks' prayers brought Sichlarius' ruin. Other Gauls in similar straits, however, lacking such divine intervention, would have

¹²¹ *Cod.Eur.* 312, with missing material supplied from the *Lex Visigothorum* 4.20.

¹²² *Sichlarius ... dixitque abbati, 'dona mihi hoc molendinum ... et quod volueris repensabo,' cui ille, '... nunc non possumus ipsum donare, ne fratres mei fame pereant,' et ille, 'si vis,' inquit, 'ipsum bona voluntate tribuere, gratias ago, sin aliud, vi ipsum auferam (Greg.Tur. VPat. 18.2).*

had to suffer the loss.¹²³ Indeed, such a one might have been Paulinus of Pella, whose friendly Goth likewise might have made an “offer he couldn’t refuse.”

Other Romans of small means and influence also suffered from the Visigothic occupation. One such was the monk Marianus, who is said in a late source to have fled after 450 from Bourges to Auxerre to escape the Goths: “Evading their pollution, he migrated from his home.”¹²⁴ Another would have been the deacon who circa 470 had abandoned his property in the Visigothic kingdom, become a wanderer (*peregrinus*), and fled to Auxerre, “avoiding the whirlwind of the Gothic depredation.”¹²⁵ And Ruricius of Limoges wrote to Aeonius of Arles circa 500 on behalf of the presbyter Possessor, who, “In order that he not lose his life through a most cruel death, himself has been made an exile from his homeland.”¹²⁶

Other Gallo-Romans faced other problems in Visigothic Aquitania. The Goths were not averse, for example, to taking hostages or prisoners in order to secure their ends. Circa 420, for example, the Gallic aristocrat Theodorus, a relative of Eparchius Avitus, was held by the Goths as a “noble hostage.”¹²⁷ In the third quarter of the century, the *vir spectabilis* Simplicius of Bourges was confined by the Goths in a “barbarian prison.”¹²⁸ At about the same time, the nobles of Saintes supposedly were imprisoned in an attempt to confiscate their wealth; they were released only after the intervention of their bishop.¹²⁹ Imprisonment led to an even worse fate for a friend of Sidonius, the *vir inlustris* Eucherius of Bourges, who had been unsuccessful in a bid to become bishop of the city circa 470. At the end of the decade, he ran into difficulties with the Visigothic-appointed duke Victorius. According to Gregory of Tours, Victorius “poured malicious accusations down upon the senator Eucherius, whom one night he ordered to be dragged from the prison in which he had been placed, and having tied him next to an ancient wall, he ordered this

¹²³ See Ennod. *Epist.* 2.23. For barbarian appropriations of Gallo-Roman ecclesiastical property, see *VEparchi* 2.16; *VGerm.Par.* 5; Greg. Tur. *Glor.mart.* 79 and *Glor.conf.* 70; *VDomnuli* 9.

¹²⁴ *pollutionem eorum evitans ... e laribus propriis commigravit* (*VMariani* 1: AASS April II p.758, cf. *Gest. epp. Autis.*8: PL 138.229).

¹²⁵ *depraedationis Gothicae turbinem vitans* (Sid.Apoll. *Epist.* 6.10.1-2).

¹²⁶ *ut ille crudelissima morte non privaretur vita, ipse extorris est factus e patria* (*Epist.* 2.8).

¹²⁷ *nobilis obses* (Sid.Apoll. *Carm.*7.215-220); see *PLRE II* p.1087.

¹²⁸ *barbaricus carcer* (Sid.Apoll.*Epist.*7.9.20).

¹²⁹ *VViviani* 4.

very wall to be pulled down on top of him.”¹³⁰ Eucherius did not survive.

In many ways, therefore, even though life in the Gothic kingdom often went on as before, this was not always the case. Both Romans and Goths had to make accommodations, and the road was sometimes rocky. Nevertheless, in matters of administration, economy, and even, in general, society, a rapprochement was often found. But some Gallo-Romans, especially the elite, had cause to be unhappy with the treatment they received. This was especially the case with regard to religion, where the gap was too great to be bridged. And it was this consideration that was to have a significant impact on the survivability of the Gothic kingdom of Toulouse.

State and Church in Visigothic Aquitania

As imperial fortunes in Gaul waned, many of the Gallo-Roman nobility who saw no future in traditional secular career-patterns turned to the church as an alternative.¹³¹ When aristocrats became bishops, their power, prestige, and wealth were transferred to their new circumstances. This process was neither rapid nor straightforward, but by the beginning of the sixth century loyalty to the ideals of *romanitas* became firmly associated with participation in the Nicene church. These bishops also became involved in politics, either as mediators between monarchs or as representatives of their own communities to the government of the day, and these relations were not always amicable.¹³²

In every Gallic province, moreover, the lines of Nicene ecclesiastical authority radiated from urban centers to the countryside. A complex organization and well-developed hierarchy existed in each city in Roman Gaul, and constant communication had tightened the fabric of these networks until they virtually displaced other types of bureaucracy. In some areas of Gaul, ecclesiastical unity was fostered by the holding of numerous church councils. One aspect of ecclesiastical activity was an extensive building program. Practically every

¹³⁰ *super Eucherium vero senatorem calumpnias devolvit, quem in carcere positum nocte extrahi iussit, ligatumque iuxta parietem antiquum, ipsum parietem super eum elidi iussit* (Greg. Tur. *HF* 2.20).

¹³¹ See, in general, Mathisen, *Aristocrats*, 89ff and *passim*.

¹³² For all of these developments, see Mathisen, *Factionalism*, *passim*.

bishop in Gaul sponsored building projects in his diocese, often depending upon donations from the congregation, which at the same time augmented his local status and authority.

But religion also created an insurmountable division between the Roman and Gothic populations of Aquitania. The former were Arians; the latter, faithful to the Nicene creed ("Nicenes", or "Catholics"). Both were devoted to their own particular brand of Christianity. Gothic Arianism had deep roots in a past which looked back to a venerable bishop of their own, Ulfila, and had been an integral part of the Gothic strategy for survival during their four decades of wandering on Roman soil.¹³³

After the settlement, Arians and Catholics lived in permanent proximity, and, in general, they coexisted peacefully. The first half century of the Aquitanian Gothic kingdom is remarkable for a religious *modus vivendi* in which the question of opposing religious sentiments rarely arose.¹³⁴ Indeed, the existence of Nicene and Arian populations in the same community seems to have caused little concern. Sidonius, for example, noted that in the selection of Simplicius as bishop of Bourges c.470, even "those who follow the Arian faith" did not object to the choice.¹³⁵

In spite of formidable theological ammunition and a likely superiority of intellect, moreover, the Gallo-Roman leaders of the Nicene church never managed to convert a single Goth to their cause, and they rarely tried. Nor did the Goths make any attempt to impose their Arian beliefs on their Catholic subjects. This is striking, for the Gallic church certainly did not shun attempts to convert other barbarians in Gaul, nor did the Visigoths abstain from missionary efforts of their own among other barbarians.¹³⁶ In only a single instance before the end of Roman rule are Arian Goths known to have challenged Catholic theology: the celebrated debate, presumably non-violent, between the Arian Modaharius and the Catholic bishop

¹³³ The date of Gothic conversion *en masse* to Arianism is still debated. See, P. Heather, "The Crossing of the Danube and the Gothic Conversion," *GRBS* 27 (1986), 289-318.

¹³⁴ An isolated expression of desire to convert the Goths is the voice of Eutropius *de similitudine carnis peccati*, ed. Morin (*PLS* 1.555).

¹³⁵ *qui fidem fovent Arianorum* (Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 7.8.3).

¹³⁶ The Romans successfully converted the Franks, and a certain Ajax, a Nicene apostate described as *natione Galata*, converted the Suevi of Spain to Arianism "with the support of his king" (*regis sui auxilio*), presumably Theoderic II (Hyd. *Chron.* 232)

Basilius of Aix.¹³⁷ Reports, like that in the life of St. Vincent of Agen, of Goths imitating the fervor of a St. Martin and desecrating tombs of holy (Catholic) men, are rare.¹³⁸ On the whole, Arians displayed greater tolerance than the Catholics, if a story narrated by Gregory of Tours is to be taken at face value.¹³⁹

*Arian Church Organization*¹⁴⁰

There is scant information about the Arian church of Aquitania. According to Eunapius, the Goths had monks as early as 376, if not before.¹⁴¹ But there is no subsequent attestation of them, and certainly none for Aquitania. The structure and hierarchy of the Arian church appear to have been rather different than that of the Catholic. Alaric I had a bishop, Sigisarius, in his train who baptized Attalus, the Gothic nominee for the imperial throne.¹⁴² In general it would appear that unlike the Nicene church, which had a multitude of bishops associated with different cities, the Visigothic church seems to have been centered on the person of the king, who was accompanied by a retinue of *sacerdotes* ("prelates"), who carried out duties that, in the Nicene church, would have been performed by both bishops and priests. In the 460s, for example, Arian services for the Visigothic king at Toulouse were presided over by "his own prelates" (*sacerdotes suos*).¹⁴³ This royal chapel may be identified with Notre Dame de la Daurade in Toulouse.¹⁴⁴ Gothic *sacerdotes* appear again in 474, when as seen above, bishop Epiphanius of Pavia visited Toulouse and was invited to sup with king Euric (466-485). But he had learned that Euric's banquets were "polluted by his prelates (*sacerdotes*)," and he declined to attend.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁷ Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 7.6.2.

¹³⁸ *Passio S. Vincentii Aginnensis* 6: *Analecta Bollandiana* 2 (1883), 300f.

¹³⁹ *HF* 5.43, in a later context.

¹⁴⁰ See, in general, R. Mathisen, "Barbarian Bishops and the Churches 'in barbaricis gentibus,'" *Speculum* 72(1997) pp. 664-697.

¹⁴¹ Fr. 55 (Müller). H. Sivan, "The Making of an Arian Goth. Ulfila reconsidered," *Revue bénédictine* (forthcoming).

¹⁴² Sozomen, *HE* 11.9.

¹⁴³ "antelucanos sacerdotum suorum coetus minimo comitatu expetit" (Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* 1.2.4).

¹⁴⁴ On La Daurade see, most recently, *Palladia Tolosa. Toulouse romaine* (catalogue of an exhibition at the Musée Saint Raymond in Toulouse, (Toulouse 1988), 141-146. My thanks to the director, Daniel Cazes, for providing me with a copy (HS).

¹⁴⁵ "iugiter per sacerdotes suos polluta habere convivia" (Ennodius, *Vita Epiphani* 92).

These royal prelates seem to have carried out duties for the king. Under the year 466, for example, the chronicler Hydatius reported, "Ajax, by nationality a Gaul, after becoming an apostate and the *senior Arrianus*, appeared among the Suevi as an enemy of the Catholic faith and the divine trinity."¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, Ajax was said to have come "from the abode of the Goths, with the support of his king," that is, the Visigothic king Theoderic II (453-466). He may have been one of the members of Theoderic's sacerdotal college—were they called *seniores*?—sent on a special mission to the Suevi. And a successful mission to boot, for the Suevi were converted to Arianism, and remained Arians until the Spanish Visigothic conversion of 589.

There is little evidence for a Visigothic ecclesiastical presence outside of the royal cities. In the 450s, the presbyter Othia, apparently a Visigoth and therefore an Arian, dedicated a church—a bishop's task in the imperial church—to the popular saints Felix, Agnes, and Eulalia near the *oppidum* of Ensérune, between Narbonne and Béziers.¹⁴⁷ Othia's non-Nicene affiliation also is suggested by his unprecedented practice of dating by the years of his presbyterate, a clear emulation of the equally unprecedented practice of Rusticus of Narbonne, the powerful Nicene bishop of Narbonne, who dated by the years of his episcopate.¹⁴⁸ It would seem that by doing so, Othia not only blatantly underscored his independence, but also portrayed himself, a Gothic presbyter, as the equal of a Nicene bishop.

The liturgy in the Aquitanian-Gothic church quite probably was conducted in Gothic, for the Goths possessed a translation of the Bible made in the fourth century, and some manuscripts bear traces of later revisions, influenced by the Latin Bible, and were probably introduced in Aquitania and Spain.¹⁴⁹ Other Arian intellectual activity is attested in a debate between an Arian *presbyter* and a Nicene deacon.¹⁵⁰ And aforementioned Modaharius, described by Sidonius

¹⁴⁶ "Ajax, natione Galata, effectus apostata et senior Arrianus, inter Suevos regis sui auxilio hostis catholicae fidei et divinae trinitatis emergit. A Gallicana Gothorum habitatione hoc pestiferum inimici hominis virus adfectum" (Hydatius, *Chron.* 232; cf. Isidore of Seville, *Hist.Suev.* 90).

¹⁴⁷ *CIL* 12.4311. A Gothic nationality is suggested not only by his name, but also by the fact that such establishments by any other than bishops were forbidden in the Nicene church, see The Council of Orange, can.9(10) (AD 441): *Corp.Chr.Lat.* 148.80.

¹⁴⁸ See H.-I. Marrou, "Le dossier épigraphique de l'évêque Rusticus de Narbonne," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 3-4(1970) 331-349.

¹⁴⁹ See Heather/Matthews, *Goths*.

¹⁵⁰ Greg.Tur. *Glor.mart.* 80; also *Glor.conf.* 14.

Apollinaris not as a bishop, or even as a cleric, but as a “Gothic citizen” (*civem Gothum*), had a celebrated Christological debate with the Nicene bishop Basilius of Aix circa the early 470s.¹⁵¹

One thing of which both Goths and Romans partook was divine assistance. Both Salvian of Marseille and the anonymous biographer of bishop Orientius of Auch believed that Theodoric’s Gothic army won a victory over the Roman army in 439 of because of the king’s piety and the prayers of the saintly prelate of Auch.¹⁵² On another occasion, early in the 460s, the hermit Maximus of Chinon saved besieged Visigoths from the Roman general Aegidius and his Frankish troops.¹⁵³ Divine help also was enlisted against Gothic aggression, as happened during the siege of Arles in 458, when St. Martin of Tours was invoked, and the Goths failed in their endeavor.¹⁵⁴

Prior to the reign of Euric it is difficult to identify clearly any specific Gothic religious policies vis-à-vis the Catholic church of Aquitania, although the lack of church councils there before Agde in 506, at a time when they were common elsewhere in Gaul, is suggestive, and may indicate an attempt to isolate the Aquitanian bishops from the rest of Gaul. The situation becomes clearer during the reign of the aggressive Euric, whom Sidonius went so far as to accuse of “plotting against Christian regulations.”¹⁵⁵ And, at the end of the next century, Gregory of Tours recalled these Visigothic practices as a “grave persecution of the Christians in Gaul.”¹⁵⁶ In even later years, the supposed barbarian persecution of the church in the fifth century became a commonplace. The *Deeds of the Bishops of Auxerre*, for example, discussed the difficulties caused at that time “on account, of course, of the savagery of the barbarians who were devastating Gaul.”¹⁵⁷

Euric’s intervention in the internal affairs of the church took the form of a ban on episcopal elections. As a result, several sees, the occupants of which had died peacefully, remained vacant for some time. These included nine bishoprics in the heart of Visigothic Aquitania. What, precisely, was Euric attempting to accomplish? It already has been seen that Euric saw himself as the legitimate succes-

¹⁵¹ “Modaharium, civem Gothum, haereseos Arianæ iacula vibrantem” (Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 7.6.2-3).

¹⁵² Salvian, *De gub.* 7.9; Prosper, *Chron.* 1335; *Vita Orientii* 3 (*AASS* May I 60-65).

¹⁵³ Greg. Tur. *Glor. Conf.* 22 (late 450s/early 460s).

¹⁵⁴ Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita Martini* 6.111-150 (*CSEL* 16.143).

¹⁵⁵ *legibus Christianis insidiaturum* (*Epist.* 7.6.6).

¹⁵⁶ *gravem in Galliis super Christianos ... persecutionem* (HF 2.25).

¹⁵⁷ *ob saevitiam scilicet vastantium Gallias barbarorum* (*Gest. epp. autiss.* 8-10).

sor of the Roman government in Aquitania, if not in all of Gaul. It also has been seen that the Gallic ecclesiastical establishment formed a virtual state within a state. This Euric could not tolerate, especially while his own vision of the kingdom's future was still undergoing development.

Because the number of sees that became vacant appears large enough to suggest a conscious policy, Euric's measure may have been connected to his legislative initiative, and to his effort to consolidate his own authority at the expense of Romans, both secular and ecclesiastical. The growing union between Gallo-Roman aristocrats and the ecclesiastical hierarchy was a clear threat to the stability of the Gothic regime. So it would appear that, *pace* Sidonius, the Arian Euric was not attacking Catholic orthodoxy *per se* but the Catholic leadership, and for essentially political rather than religious reasons.¹⁵⁸

Nor did Euric limit his interference in the Catholic church merely to prohibiting new ordinations. As new territories came under his control, bishops ran the risk of various kinds of punishments. Sidonius himself, and a number of other bishops, were exiled. The Visigoths, moreover, apparently used other means to undercut Catholic ecclesiastical authority, as seen in a curious appeal by the Visigothic prince Fridericus to bishop Hilarus of Rome immediately after the annexation of Narbonne in 462.¹⁵⁹ The case concerned an apparently illegal ordination, and Hilarus had only learned of the incident, he said, "From the deacon John, who was recommended to us by our son, the magnificent man Fridericus, in his letter...."¹⁶⁰ But, an understanding of the Gothic attitude to, and concern about, the Gallic church hierarchy makes this strange circumstance a bit more understandable, for the only alternative to an appeal to Rome would have been to hold a church council to settle the matter, and from the Gothic point of view, this would have been even worse.

Euric's successor Alaric II, on the other hand, seems to have had markedly better relations with the Gallo-Roman church. He permitted vacant sees to be filled, and his approval was sought for the ordination of local favorites. Circa AD 500, for example, Aeonius of Arles successfully sought to ensure that his relative Caesarius would succeed him: "through messengers he queried the very lords of af-

¹⁵⁸ See Mathisen, *Aristocrats*, pp.32-34.

¹⁵⁹ Mathisen, *Factionalism*, 210. Hilary, *Ep.* 7 (*MGH Ep.* 3.22-23).

¹⁶⁰ *a diacono Iohanne, qui a magnifico viro filio nostro Friderico litteris suis nobis insinuatus est...* (Hil. *Epist.* *ibid.*).

fairs.”¹⁶¹ And Caesarius himself received from Alaric not only funds for the release of captives, but even a perpetual tax exemption for the church of Arles.¹⁶² Furthermore, a number of Nicene refugees from Africa were in exile in Alaric’s kingdom, presumably with his permission, including bishop Eugenius of Carthage, at Albi, and Quintinianus, nephew of an African bishop Faustus, at Rodez.¹⁶³ On the other hand, however, Alaric himself was compelled to send bishops into exile when they were accused of complicity with foreign enemies, Volusianus and Verus of Tours with the Franks in the 490s, and Caesarius of Arles with the Burgundians in 505.¹⁶⁴

Alaric also intervened in a case involving the church of Narbonne. Ca.508/511, the Ostrogothic king Theoderic, who now controlled the city, addressed the *dux* Ibba,

Cur enim priora quassemus, ubi nihil est quod corrigere debeamus? Atque ideo praesenti tibi auctoritate praecipimus ut possessiones Narbonensis ecclesiae, secundum praecelsae recordationis Alarici praecepta, <quae> a quibuslibet pervasoribus occupata teneantur, aequitatis facias contemplatione restitui, qui versari nolumus in ecclesiae dispendio praesumptiones illicitas

Why indeed do we debate past issues, when there is nothing we need to correct? And therefore we, who do not desire to be involved in illicit presumptions in the administration of the church, command you by present authority, according to the ruling of Alaric of excellent memory, that, with a view toward fairness, you see to it that the possessions of the church of Narbonne, which are held occupied by certain invaders, are restored.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ “ipsos dominos rerum per internuntios rogat” (*Vita Caesarii* 1.13). See E. Griffe, “L’épiscopat gaulois et les royautés barbares de 482 à 507,” *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 76(1978) pp.261-284 at p.282, where this “témoigne déjà des bons rapports qui existaient entre Alaric et les évêques.”

¹⁶² *Vita Caesarii* 1.20, “namque pecunias captivorum profuturas remedii impertivit et data firmitate praecepti ecclesiam in perpetuum tributis fecit immunem.” It has been suggested (*MGH SRM* 3.456) that this is a later interpolation intended to attest to the exemption; but surely a forger would have attributed an exemption to a Frank, rather than to a Visigoth whose statutes would have been void in Frankish Gaul. See Klingshirn, *Caesarius*, pp.85, 90 for Caesarius’ dependence on Alaric.

¹⁶³ Eugenius: Greg.Tur. *HF* 2.3: the date is uncertain; Gregory places his exile in the reign of Huneric (477-484), but he also has Hilperic (523-531) as Huneric’s successor. Quintianus: Greg.Tur. *Vit.pat.* 4, as “an African.”

¹⁶⁴ Volusianus and Verus: Greg.Tur. *HF* 2.26, 2.29, 10.31. Caesarius: *Vita Caesarii* 1.21; Ruricius of Limoges, *Epist.* 2.33.

¹⁶⁵ Cassiodorus, *Varianum* 4.17.2. It is unclear whether this controversy was related to Gregory of Tours’ complaint that Alaric lowered the roof of the cathedral of Narbonne because it obstructed his view (*Gloria martyrum* 91).

So, at some point Alaric had issued a ruling apparently in support of the Nicene ecclesiastical establishment at Narbonne.¹⁶⁶ On balance, therefore, it would seem that, except in cases involving state security, Alaric's relations with the Gallo-Roman church were harmonious¹⁶⁷

The Visigoths, Aquitania, and Archaeology

The literary sources for the history of the Visigoths in Aquitania have received fulsome attention. It is no exaggeration to state that the only real advances in our understanding of the physical context of the Visigothic presence in Aquitania can be made by archaeology.¹⁶⁸

Signs of prosperity were evident throughout Aquitania in the fourth century. Both the statements of Ausonius of Bordeaux and modern excavations confirm the extent of the recovery of the area after the Diocletianic restoration.¹⁶⁹ The remains of numerous rural estates document a rebuilding program on a large scale, and a remarkable array of colorful mosaics suggest a general air of wealth and exuberance. Although the walls of most cities enclosed a fairly small urban space, the pace of life within appears to have been vigorous. Indeed, the very undertaking of these massive fortifications at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century indicates considerable economic resources. Their construction also led to a greater density of population within the walls and entailed a restructuring of urban life. Signs of renewed prosperity are also seen in the establishment of large-scale ceramic industries in some cities, like Bordeaux, the products of which, the distinctive *sigillée grise et orangé*, circulated throughout Gaul.

¹⁶⁶ As seen above Visigothic involvement in the church of Narbonne began as early as 462, when the prince Fridericus complained to Hilarus of Rome about the ordination of Hermes as bishop; see Hilarus, *Epist.*, "Miramur fraternitatem": *MGH Epist.* 3.22-23.

¹⁶⁷ For a different spin on these events, see Rouche, *Aquitaine*, pp.43-50.

¹⁶⁸ As further witnessed by the multiplicity of new journals dedicated to archaeology in its widest content, like *Aquitania*, *Archéologie en Aquitaine*, the consolidation of *Gallia Informations*, and numerous outstanding catalogues which have accompanied various exhibits. See now, *Villes et agglomérations urbaines antiques du sud-ouest de la Gaule. Histoire et Archéologie* (Deuxième colloque Aquitania: Bordeaux, 13-15 septembre 1990) (Sixième supplément à *Aquitania*) (Bordeaux 1992).

¹⁶⁹ H. Sivan, *Ausonius of Bordeaux. Genesis of a Gallic Aristocracy* (London 1993). For a recent overview of urbanism in Aquitania in general throughout the Roman period see now *Villes et agglomérations*.

It is fair to assume, moreover, that urban revival followed rather than preceded a steady rural recovery after the devastations of the third century, and similarly after the briefer and possibly less ruinous invasions of the early fifth, although neither occurred overnight. In gauging the scope and chronology of this process, we are entirely at the mercy of archaeology. One result is an extremely uneven picture—if cities of Novempopulana like Eauze show unmistakable signs of wealth in the fourth century, and throughout the fifth century as well, as do Bordeaux, Agen, and Saintes in Aquitania II, we have no information at all about other cities like Périgueux. The scale of restoration in the cities, moreover, appears more modest than that in the countryside. With one exception, for example, there are no traces of new public buildings—the mentality that had opened the pockets of the rich in the early empire for the beautification of their cities had by now undergone a far-reaching change. The needs of the church doubtless diverted resources that had earlier been spent on urban amenities toward the construction of naught but churches. Furthermore, the massive investment in the countryside must also have turned the attention of the estate owners away from the concerns of the town.¹⁷⁰

The rubble found in the remains of city walls indicates that the villas that had once formed the suburbs of most Roman cities had been razed and that their debris had been used for the purposes of fortification. Now, if the walls of the cities of fourth-century Aquitania were primarily defensive, military considerations would have required that a wide belt of open ground lay beyond those walls. It is not necessary to assume, however, that military was the only, or even the greatest, function performed by these massive fortifications. Their size and design often betray such a careful attention to architectural aesthetics that one cannot help but suspect that these walls, towers, and gates answered needs beyond the purely military. Their construction, maintenance, and manning were the work of the urban community as a whole; they symbolized the commonweal and defined community identity in a most tangible fashion. The *laudes* of individual cities, a common enough genre in these years, dwelled upon the city's fortifications with loving care, and, in iconography, the image of the city became that of great closed gates set in high, massive, and well-

¹⁷⁰ For a rare exception, Nymfius of Valentine, see H. Sivan, "Town, Country and Province in late Roman Gaul: The Example of CHL XIII 128," *JPE* 79 (1989), 103-113.

guarded walls behind which only the tip of a tower or two might appear. The walls defined the city, but also unmistakably delineated its separation from the surrounding countryside and this too required a wide tract of vacant land between the urban walls and the rural villas. All this represented the growing differentiation between the *civitas* and *pagus*, and presupposed a corresponding division within Gallic society. The wealthier classes were dividing into separate urban and rural entities, and the cities no longer had the number of possible benefactors that they once enjoyed.

One curious result of this transformation of the notion of a *cives* in the sense of membership in an urban community was a marked distinction between the urban rich and poor. This distinction was reflected in the great range of residence—from small palaces to wretched hovels—within remarkably small areas within the city walls. In other words, economic and social differences were translated into architectural spaces in a manner which apparently had no parallels in the second and third centuries.

How can one measure the effect of the intrusion of a new element into the urban and rural landscapes of Aquitania? A period of ninety years of Visigothic presence may have appeared long to the Gallo-Roman inhabitants of Aquitania but is rather short in terms of historical development. Both cities and rural estates must have been affected by Visigothic settlers. The court was established in Toulouse, and later in Bordeaux and Narbonne. The kings, if they resided *intra muros*, had to resort to the use of already existing structures, although the case of La Daurade in Toulouse points to a conscious effort to leave a mark on the decor. Visigothic nobles, likewise, may have been content to occupy the residences of Aquitanian aristocrats either *intra* or *extra muros*.

Did Visigothic presence in the cities set off an economic boom, or did it lead to a decline? At this point we cannot construct a general picture of either continued prosperity or marked decline. Excavations in Bordeaux, for example, during the 1980s show clear signs of building activities, of continued active trade and of the continued use of the internal harbor of the city.¹⁷¹ Decline only set in under Merovingian occupation in the sixth century. The Visigothic tendency and ability to imitate the manners and behavior of the local Gallo-Roman aristoc-

¹⁷¹ H. Sivan, "Town and Country in Fifth Century Gaul: The Example of Bordeaux" in Drinkwater/Elton, *Gaul*, pp.132-143.

racy may have been responsible for artistic patronage, evident in the funerary monuments and mosaics mentioned above.

The Aquitanian sarcophagi of Late Antiquity have been the subject of long debate. In 1985, the hypothesis which connected the sarcophagi with the Arian Visigoths seemed most plausible,¹⁷² but renewed interest in the issue has provided an opportunity for further reflection.¹⁷³ Two observations seem paramount; the materials used were exclusively local marbles, quarried in the area of St. B  at in the Pyrenees; and the workmanship was of relatively poor quality compared with the carved marble sarcophagi that Gallic notables had imported from Italy in the fourth century. This said, the sarcophagi of Aquitania present two main stages of decorative schemes—one with figures and stories, clearly influenced by the decor of the Italian sarcophagi; and the second with an exclusively vegetal and geometrical decor that presents curious similarities with the repertory of themes seen on a large group of late Antique mosaics in Aquitania. Neither sarcophagi nor mosaics display great originality. But both are unique in their vast application of non-figural motives to the limited surface of either sarcophagi or the walls/floors of rich dwellings.

Since the earliest of the Aquitanian sarcophagi of Late Antiquity portrayed human figures, they must have been anchored in pre-existing artistic forms. Such forms occur in the rich repertory of imported Roman sarcophagi found practically all over Gaul, including Aquitania. These have been dated to the fourth century and no later than the early years of the fifth. The turning from the luxurious Italian imports to locally produced sarcophagi whose carvers valiantly attempted to imitate their Italian counterparts demonstrates the relative isolation of Aquitania occasioned by the Gothic presence. This isolation is reflected in the cessation of imports as well as lack of Italian artists to execute commissions in Gallic marble. It would also appear that there had been a temporary economic decline or at least a perceived economic decline. Rich Aquitanians of 418 may have adopted the attitude of “wait and see what is going to happen.” One result was trimming of luxury items like imported sarcophagi. It is clear that the region lacked the skills or facilities for training that would have allowed local industry to replace the high-quality goods that had formerly been imported. The Aquitanian sarcophagi notably lack the depth of carving that the Italian monuments possess.

¹⁷² Sivan, above.

¹⁷³ *Antiquit   Tardive* 1 (1993): *Les Sarcophages d'Aquitaine*.

If these points are correct, the following pattern of events may have occurred. Local Aquitanian aristocrats in need of funerary monuments but incapable of importing from Italy or even buying in Arles, the center of importation and possibly the seat of a Gallic workshop, commissioned local carvers to execute an Italian type decor with local materials. Visigothic notables, eager to imitate their neighbors, turned to the same craftsmen but insisted on non-figural decor since the classical symbols and allusions of the Italianate style held little meaning for them, their families or their retinue. Whether or not an aversion to human representation was an aspect of Arianism is still an open question.

Now, most of the carved marble sarcophagi were found within an urban milieu, and not a few in a crypt of one church or another. None was inscribed, and, as a result, nearly all were later reused. The complete anonymity of the entombed is another curious feature of these items. Does it indicate a very low level of literacy? A desire to avoid identification? A specific place of burial which did not require individual identification since the place was, say, a family burial ground? Perhaps there were inscriptions which did identify the buried but which became detached and were eventually lost. Be that as it may, the Aquitanian sarcophagi of Late Antiquity display characteristics of both imitative nature and departure from tradition.

The urban context of this group, here seen as Visigothic in its non-figural stage, points not only to a Visigothic presence in general but to their appropriation of specific religious structures as well. It is impossible to tell whether buildings like the churches of St. Sernin in Toulouse, St. Seurin in Bordeaux, and St. Paul in Narbonne, were built in the fourth or fifth century. If the latter, one wonders if their erection involved Visigothic patronage, the patronage of the Catholic community, or even both. The lack of clearly identifiable signs of specific religious affiliation may have allowed these monuments to be placed and survive even in a Catholic church.

As expressions of social and economic conditions, the Aquitanian sarcophagi indicate the existence of class consciousness as well as the availability of economic resources. As reflections of Visigothic tastes, they confirm a degree of assimilation and the final disintegration of ethnic structures. They also demonstrate a personal taste which clearly distinguished the Gothic noble dead from the funerary domain of Gallo-Romans.

How were the less affluent buried? To judge by examples from all

over the empire, many were laid in simple sarcophagi, barely decorated, if at all, and in large and crowded cemeteries. Such sarcophagi do exist in Aquitania but they have been invariably associated with the Merovingians. There is no convincing justification for such a single-minded identification. It assumes that the barbarian peoples of Late Roman Gaul met only briefly on the battle field and did not further interact. In fact, there is no evidence to exclude a constant interchange, diplomatic, economic, and cultural, among Visigoths, Burgundians, Ostrogoths and Franks. Such contacts account for the presence of thousands of uninscribed and poorly carved trapezoid-shaped plain sarcophagi both north and south of the Loire, starting in the fifth century. The decor, primarily primitive geometrical, seems to be an imitation of the more complex shapes of aristocratic sarcophagi. Their shape is likewise reminiscent of the striking and unique trapezoid form of the Aquitanian carved marble sarcophagi. And, unlike their aristocratic models, the "poor man" sarcophagi were produced in cheaper material like local limestone.

Common graves ordinarily enclose no clue as to the ethnic identity of the dead. The rare burials with grave goods invariably contain clothing accessories like fibulae. Yet, such ornamental items can hardly be associated with either Goths or Franks or even Gallo-Romans since they are clearly products of the taste of the day. Moreover, most show, if anything, faint links with types found in the Danubian and Crimean Gothic homelands. Thus, although the existence of Visigothic cemeteries has long been suspected, the criteria for establishing these with any degree of certainty are still lacking.

Closely akin to the aristocratic sarcophagi is a large group of mosaics, most of which had been found in rural milieux and within the architectural context of large and rich estates.¹⁷⁴ Traditionally these mosaics have been placed within a Gallo-Roman cultural context and dated, for the most part, to the fourth century. That the Visigoths had access to rural estates seems indubitable. The question arises of whether those who commissioned the carved marble sarcophagi and those who ordered the mosaics were the same people, either Visigothic or Gallo-Roman. The mosaics display greater dexterity of artistry than the marble sarcophagi. Although decorated for the most part with vegetal and geometrical themes, the lines, for example, of the trees are more supple and appear to have been

¹⁷⁴ Balmelle, above.

drawn with more skillful hands. Can these mosaics be regarded as a manifestation of distinct artistic development linked to the wealth of Roman Aquitania in the fourth century? This appears to be the prevailing opinion. But a more nuanced progression can perhaps be proposed. Emerging from a fourth century context of renovation and restoration, the mosaics continued to serve as the main decorative feature in the wealthier houses of the countryside and were widely commissioned by both Gallo-Romans and Goths in the fifth. Since the repertory of the Aquitanian mosaics appears to have included vegetal and geometrical motives from its inception, these designs may further have served as models for the repertory of the non-figural Aquitanian sarcophagi of Late Antiquity.

In this light, the arrival and presence of the Goths in Aquitania did not create a disruption but rather intensified the pace of urban and rural prosperity. This hypothesis can be strengthened by an examination of other products, like pottery. The production of pottery cannot, of course, be directly connected to the Goths, but the Gothic presence and Gothic demand for this sort of goods may have acted as important economic impetus. The map of distribution of the Late Roman sigillata in Aquitania shows concentrations between the Dordogne and the Garonne with sparser finds throughout Aquitania. Most of the finds belong to villae in the countryside, precisely those which were rich in mosaics. The quantities of finds incite researchers to stipulate the existence of workshops in cities like Bordeaux and possibly Saintes. The question of chronology is still difficult in the absence of clearly dated criteria. It would appear that Provençal workshops started producing this type of pottery around the end of the fourth century and continued to do so for no less than two centuries. In Aquitania, the period of activity may have enjoyed similar longevity.¹⁷⁵ Perhaps the most striking feature of the late Roman Aquitanian pottery is its repertory of decorative elements. Like the sarcophagi, the Aquitanian sigillata show preference for geometrical and vegetal motives and for the occasional Chrism, the only evidence of religious affiliation.¹⁷⁶ The gradual turning away from figural images is to be once more associated with Visigothic patronage.

No other region of Gaul at this date displays an artistic production

¹⁷⁵ C. Marmion, *La sigillée tardive d'Aquitaine* (Thesis, Univ. of Bordeaux, 1985).

¹⁷⁶ M. Gauthier, "La céramique estampée tardive d'Aquitaine," *Revue historique de Bordeaux et du département de la Gironde* 24 (1975), 24-45.

of such range and quantity as Aquitania. Such a phenomenon appears to be a reflection of the political stability and order established then in the area. It is therefore reasonable, if not necessary, to associate this distinctive and well defined artistic efflorescence with the political, social and economic development of Aquitania in Late Antiquity. The more specific problem of interaction between the Visigothic and provincial Roman aristocracy in this process is difficult to evaluate. But whatever the nature of this give and take, the role of the Visigoths must be considered as a key factor in the emergence of this highly idiosyncratic new dialect of western provincial Roman art in Late Antique Gaul.

*The End of the Kingdom of Toulouse:
Too Little, Too Late*

The end of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth was a crucial period for Gaul as the Visigoths of Toulouse contended for supremacy with the Franks. In the 470s, it had looked as if the Goths, under king Euric (466-484), would reign supreme.¹⁷⁷ But in 481/482 the ambitious Clovis succeeded to the rule of one of several Frankish groups. After his victory over the Gallo-Roman Syagrius in 486, even the Visigoths, under Euric's son Alaric II, were menaced by the expanding Frankish kingdom. For the defeated Syagrius had taken refuge with Alaric, and Clovis threatened to attack if Alaric refused to turn over Syagrius. Alaric, demonstrating what Gregory of Tours called "customary Gothic cowardice," complied.¹⁷⁸ And Gregory's view has become that of modern historiography: that Alaric was an ineffectual weakling who only at the eleventh hour attempted to reach a rapprochement with his Gallo-Roman subjects.

As for Clovis, eventually his threat of 486 became reality. The latter half of the 490s saw a series of poorly known Frankish attacks

¹⁷⁷ See in particular Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 4,22 and 8,3 for Euric's preeminent status.

¹⁷⁸ "Chlodovechus vero ad Alarico mittit, ut eum redderet, alioquin noveret, sibi bellum ob eius retentionem inferred. at ille metuens, ... ut Gothorum pavere mos est, vinctum legatis tradidit" (Greg. Tur. *HF* 2,27; cf. Fredegar. 3,15; *LHF* 9). H. Wolfram, *History of the Goths* (Berkeley, 1988) p.191, suggests that Syagrius might not have been handed over immediately. For Visigothic fears of the Franks after ca.493, see Procop. *Bell. goth.* 1.12.21.

upon Aquitania.¹⁷⁹ A continuation of Prosper's chronicle notes under the year 496, "Alaric, in the twelfth year of his reign, captured Saintes."¹⁸⁰ Such a statement, of course, presupposes that someone, presumably the the Franks,¹⁸¹ had captured Saintes themselves at some earlier time. It may be, moreover, that the Frankish ability to conduct such campaigns resulted from Visigothic commitments elsewhere, and, in particular, from an increasing Visigothic interest in consolidating their holdings in Spain. The *Chronicon Caesaraugustanum*, for example, tells of significant Visigothic involvement in Spain. In 494, there was a Visigothic invasion of Spain; and in 496, "Burdelenus assumed a tyranny in Spain."¹⁸² But, presumably distracted by the Frankish attack on Saintes, the Visigoths could not respond until 497: "The Goths seize territory in Spain and Burdelenus is betrayed by his supporters, taken to Toulouse, placed within a bronze bull, and incinerated in a fire."¹⁸³

The Visigothic capability to retake Saintes in 496 might have improved when Clovis was forced to confront the Alamanni in the same year. The subsequent battle was so hard-fought that Clovis, on the point of defeat, was later said to have promised to become a Christian if the Franks emerged the victors.¹⁸⁴ And win they did. Subsequently, on Christmas Day, probably in 496 or 497, Clovis' actual baptism was carried out, stage-managed to have the greatest positive effect upon the Nicene Gallo-Roman population.¹⁸⁵ Gallo-Roman bishops not even living in the Frankish kingdom, such as Avitus of

¹⁷⁹ E.g. T. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders* (London, 1888) 3.392 n.1; B.S. Bachrach, "Procopius and the Chronology of Clovis' Reign," *Viator* 1(1970) pp.21-31; Wolfram, *Goths*, p.191; and E. James, *The Franks* (London, 1988) p.86.

¹⁸⁰ "Alaricus anno XII regni sui Santones obtinuit" (*Auct.persp.haun: MGH AA* 9.323).

¹⁸¹ As assumed by, e.g., Wolfram, *Goths*, p.191; James, *Franks*, p.86.

¹⁸² "Burdunelus in Hispania tyrannidem assumit" (*MGH AA* 11.221-222).

¹⁸³ "Gotthi intra Hispanias sedes acceperunt et Burdunelus a suis traditus et Tolosam directus in tauro aeneo impositus igne crematus est" (*ibid.*).

¹⁸⁴ "Iesu Christi... tuae opis gloriam devotus efflagito, ut, si mihi victuriam super hos hostes induleris... credam tibi et in nomine tuo baptizer... te nunc invoco, tibi credere desidero, tantum ut eruar ab adversariis meis" (Greg.Tur. *HF* 2.30).

¹⁸⁵ Greg.Tur. *HF* 2.31, at Reims. See M. Spencer, "Dating the Baptism of Clovis," *Early Medieval Europe* 3(1994) pp.97-116, for the scholarship and for refutations of attempts to date the baptism to after AD 500. It also has been suggested that as a result of his baptism, Clovis lost a good part of his Frankish support. His desire to come to an agreement with the Visigoths, therefore, also could have been based in part on his realization that this was likely to happen.

Vienne, were notified of the celebration.¹⁸⁶ It generally has been assumed that Clovis' baptism then made him the darling of the Gallo-Roman population.

Two events related to Clovis' southward expansion that seem to have occurred before his baptism now can be given a suggested context. For one thing, Gregory reports that "at the time of King Clovis" the Franks besieged Nantes, at the mouth of the Loire, for sixty days or more. They eventually were put to flight by an apparition of St. Similinus, and the Frankish commander Chilo was so overwhelmed that he converted to Christianity.¹⁸⁷ If the campaign had occurred after Clovis' baptism, one would suppose that Clovis' generals certainly would already have been Christian as well. So it may be that the siege of Nantes occurred at the time of the campaign against Saintes, ca.495-496.¹⁸⁸

A curiously comparable tale is found in a letter of circa the 560s written by Nicetius, bishop of Trier, to Chlodosunda, queen of the Lombards. Nicetius claimed that at some time prior to his victory over the Burgundians in 500 Clovis, after hearing of miracles done at the tomb of Martin, "Humbly fell at the doorstep of the lord Martin and promised to be baptized without delay."¹⁸⁹ If one credits this report, its omission from the extant works of Gregory of Tours, who usually missed no opportunity to glorify Tours and St. Martin, certainly stands in need of some explanation.

Such a visit necessarily must have occurred before Clovis' baptism, and therefore, either before, or at least not long after, his victory over the Alamanni. Now, prior to AD 507, Tours supposedly was in Visigothic territory, albeit in a very exposed position, situated right on the border between the two kingdoms. So what was Clovis doing there not only before 507, but also before his baptism in 496/497? One possibility would be that Clovis actually captured the city, perhaps during the Saintes campaign; after all, there is only one major stop, Poitiers, on

¹⁸⁶ Avit. *Epist.* 46. Krusch/Levison (*MGH SRM* 1.1.76 n.3) suggest that Avitus was actually invited to take part.

¹⁸⁷ Greg.Tur. *Glor.mart.* 60. Chilo is omitted in *PLRE II*.

¹⁸⁸ It may be at this time that Ruricius of Limoges wrote to Aeonius of Arles (c.490-502) (*Epist.*2.8) on behalf of the priest Possessor, whose brother had been taken captive "ab hostibus" in the area of Angers, situated on the Loire between Tours and Nantes.

¹⁸⁹ "humilis ad domni Martini limina cecidit et baptizare se sine mora promisit, qui baptizatus quanta in heritocos Alaricum vel Gundobadum regnum fecerit..." (*Epist.aust.* 8: *MGH Epist.* 3.121-122).

the road from Tours to Saintes.¹⁹⁰ And as for Gregory's omission of Clovis' promise, it clear that if such a promise was made, it was not kept. For Gregory himself reported Clovis' dramatic Alamannic promise which clearly had captured the public imagination. And given that Clovis was in fact baptized at Reims to boot, from Gregory's point of view, an ostentatious, yet unfulfilled, promise at Tours without any concrete benefit to Tours would have reflected scant credit upon St. Martin. Yet, one wonders if his story about Chilo, who actually did convert after witnessing a miracle in the neighborhood of Tours, in some sense retains an echo of the story about Clovis at Tours.

However that may be, it would appear that Clovis' Aquitanian offensive of 495/496 ended in dismal failure. After some initial successes, including the captures of Tours, Saintes, and presumably Poitiers as well, the campaign had stalled. The siege of Nantes failed, the Visigoths recalled their forces from Spain, and Clovis himself was distracted by the Alamanni. Saintes, and presumably Tours and any other Frankish acquisitions were retaken by the Goths. So for Clovis, perhaps the only concrete result of this campaign may have resulted from his promise at Tours (and perhaps elsewhere), which could have been intended as a play upon the sympathies, and prejudices, of the Nicene Gallo-Roman population of the Visigothic kingdom. If so, it may have had its desired effect. For Gregory of Tours noted, "At that time, many Gauls wished with the greatest desire to have the Franks as masters."¹⁹¹

One Gaul who was much affected by these developments was Volusianus, bishop of Tours, who, perhaps just prior to the Frankish campaigns of circa 495/496, wrote to Ruricius, bishop of Limoges ca.485-507, that he was "stupefied by fear of the enemy."¹⁹² Subsequently, Volusianus clearly was not trusted by the Visigoths: "Having been considered suspect by the Goths because he wished to subject himself to the rule of the Franks and having been condemned to exile in the city of Toulouse, he died there."¹⁹³ Now, the anxiety he ex-

¹⁹⁰ See L. Pietri, *La Ville de Tours de IV^e au VI^e siècle* (Rome, 1983) p.133, who suggests the Franks held the city 494-496; note also James, Franks, p.86; Lippold, "Chlodovechus," *RE* suppl 13 (1973) 155.

¹⁹¹ "Multi iam tunc ex Galliis habere Francos dominos summo desiderio cupiebant" (*HF* 2.35).

¹⁹² "nam quod scribis te metu hostium hebetem factum" (Ruric. *Epist.* 2.65).

¹⁹³ "suspectus habitus a Gothis, quod se Francorum ditionibus subdere vellet, apud urbem Tholosam exilio condemnatus, in eo obiit" (Greg.Tur. *HF* 10.31, cf. 2.26). Elsewhere (*HF* 2.29), Gregory claims that Volusianus was exiled to Spain.

pressed to Ruricius does not suggest a person actively colluding with the enemy he purported to fear. So, perhaps Volusianus' "collusion" was more circumstantial in nature: Volusianus not only owned *praedia* deep in Frankish territory at Baiocasses (Bayeux), but all of his suffragan sees were located north of the Loire as well.¹⁹⁴ So he, or any bishop of Tours, of necessity would have had to maintain at least a working relation with the Franks. And if the Franks ever did hold the city in the course of their campaigns, Volusianus would have been all the more suspect. Given that he died ca. 496¹⁹⁵, he may have been exiled after the Visigothic recapture of Saintes, and, in this interpretation, Tours.

During the next two years Clovis seems to have concentrated upon consolidating his position within his own kingdom, but by 498 he seems again to have been ready to try his luck. His strategic position may have been strengthened by an alliance, perhaps facilitated by his baptism, with the Christian "Arborychi" (Armoricans?) living in Lugdunensis III, modern Brittany, north-west of Tours.¹⁹⁶ This would have given him safe access to the Visigothic kingdom south of the Loire. Moreover, under the year 498, the aforementioned continuator of Prosper states, "In the fourteenth year of Alaric the Franks captured Bordeaux and transferred it from the authority of the Goths into their own possession, having taken captive the Gothic duke Suatrius."¹⁹⁷

Now, there is no indication as to how long the Franks occupied cities such as Saintes or Bordeaux. So far from the Frankish kingdom, they could not have hoped to have held them for long. Saintes seems to have been recaptured quickly, and the same may have been the

¹⁹⁴ Volusianus is painted in rather stronger terms by Sidonius (*Epist.* 7.16), who requested his aid in controlling the fractious monks of the monastery of Abraham in the Auvergne. *Praedia*: *ibid.* 4.18.2.

¹⁹⁵ According to Gregory (*HF* 2.26, 10.31; see Duchesne, *Fastes* 2.305), Volusianus (*PLRE II* p.1183) was bishop for seven years and his successor Verus for eleven. Given that Verus sent his deacon Leo to represent him at the Council of Agde in 506 (*CCL* 148.219), and that his successor Licinius was in office by 507 (*Greg.Tur. HF* 2.29), Verus' death must have been in late 506 or early 507. This would put his tenure ca.496-507 and Volusianus' ca. 489-496. Gregory's statement elsewhere (*HF* 2.43) that Clovis died in the eleventh year of Licinius, must be mistaken, unless, perhaps, Licinius had begun serving as bishop of Tours while Verus was still living in exile (on which, see below). On the bishops of Tours, see R. Mathisen, "The Family of Georgius Florentius Gregorius and the Bishops of Tours," *Medievalia and Humanistica* 12(1984) pp.83-95.

¹⁹⁶ Procop. *Bell.* 1.12.13; see Bachrach, "Procopius."

¹⁹⁷ "Ann. XIII Alarici Franci Burdigalam obtinuerunt et a potestate Gothorum in possessionem sui redegerunt capto Suatrio Gothorum duce" (*MGH AA* 11.323).

case with Bordeaux. Moreover, it also is unclear whether the seizures of Saintes and Bordeaux resulted from large-scale attacks by land which somehow escaped notice in the other sources, or from surprise sea-borne raids.¹⁹⁸ Other evidence attests that Saintes, at least, was vulnerable to attack from the sea at this time.¹⁹⁹

Shortly thereafter, in the midst of a Burgundian civil war in 500, the Burgundian Gundobad recaptured Vienne from his brother Godegisel and sent his Frankish captives "in exile to king Alaric at Toulouse."²⁰⁰ This might have given Alaric a bargaining chip he could use to reach a settlement with Clovis. For Gregory of Tours reports that afterwards,

Igitur Alaricus rex Gothorum, cum videret Chlodovechum regem gentes assidue debellare, legatos ad eum dirigit, dicens, 'Si frater meus velit, insederat animo, ut nos Deo propitio pariter viderimus.' Quod Chlodovechus non respuens, ad eum venit. Coniunctique in insula Ligeris, quae erat iuxta vicum Ambaciensem territorium urbis Turonicae, simul locuti, comedentes pariter ac bibentes, promissa sibi amicitia, pacifici discesserunt

Alaric, king of the Goths, when he saw king Clovis unrelentingly defeating various nations, sent ambassadors to him, saying, 'If my brother wishes, he might decide that, with God's blessing, we should meet.' Clovis did not reject this suggestion and came to him. And meeting on an island of the Loire, which was next to the village of Amboise in the territory of Tours, they ate and drank together, and having promised friendship to each other, they departed in peace."²⁰¹

Alaric's reference to Clovis' victories would have been especially appropriate, not to mention ironic, if Clovis' own victory over the Burgundians earlier in AD 500, on the side of Godegisel, were meant. As for any settlement that was reached, Gregory portrays the two as

¹⁹⁸ Ruricius' 83 letters, for example, give no indication of hostilities save for the reference to Volusianus noted above.

¹⁹⁹ Note, for example, the Saxon attack upon Saintes, apparently in the 460s (*Viviani* 7: *MGH SRM* 3.98), "accidit etiam quodam tempore, ut multitudo hostium Saxonum barbarorum cum plurimis navibus ad locum qui dicitur Marciacus (Marsas [Gironde]) amore depredationis incumberet..." This attack on the city was beaten off. Sea attacks are preferred by Bachrach, "Procopius," p.26, who also suggests that the chronicler may have mistaken Saxon raiders for Franks.

²⁰⁰ "Tolosae in exilium ad Alaricum regem" (Greg. Tur. *HF* 2.33); for date, see Mar. Avent. *Chron.* s.a. 500: *MGH AA* 11.234.

²⁰¹ Greg. Tur. *HF* 2.35. This incident is conventionally dated to AD 502: Wolfram, *Goths*, p.192; Gregory merely places the meeting between Gundobad's victory in 500 and Clovis' invasion of Aquitania in 507. The location of the meeting confirms that the Loire served as the border between the two kingdoms.

bosom banquet buddies. Alaric presumably returned his Frankish “guests”, and was probably happy to be rid of them. Clovis would have returned any Visigothic territory he held, but it seems doubtful that by this time there was any. Indeed, it might seem that if anything, Alaric was left with the upper hand. For he had been able to counteract any previous Frankish offensives, and it had been he who had summoned Clovis to the conference, not the other way around. The status quo seems to have been maintained between the two kingdoms until ca. 505, when the situation for the Visigoths worsened. For one thing, Alaric’s erstwhile friend Gundobad seems to have turned against him, and the Burgundians besieged Arles; bishop Caesarius was exiled to Bordeaux after being accused of plotting to betray the city.²⁰² At the same time, the Goths faced continuing problems in Spain.²⁰³ As for Clovis, ca.505 he undertook another campaign against the Alamanni, in which the latter were totally defeated; Theoderic, the Ostrogothic king of Italy, settled their remnants in Raetia and ordered Clovis to let them be.²⁰⁴ This then left Clovis free to renew his attacks upon the Visigoths.

Faced with this northern threat, Alaric attempted to fortify his Gallo-Roman support. In the year 506, therefore, he not only called on Gallo-Roman bishops to convene a church council, he also ordered the compilation of a civil law code based upon existing Roman statutes. As a result, Gallic jurists published the *Breviarium Alarici*, or *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, which enjoys the distinction of being the main transmitter of the *Codex Theodosianus*, originally issued by the eastern emperor Theodosius II (402-450) in 438.²⁰⁵ The *Breviary* was intended to supplant the Theodosian code in the minds and lives of the Romans of Aquitania. It was distributed by two Gallo-Romans, the *vir spectabilis* Count Timotheus and the *vir spectabilis* Anianus. Its prologue proclaimed that it had been issued “So that all the obscurity of Roman laws and ancient jurisprudence, led into the light of a better intelligence with the assistance of bishops and the nobility, might be made clear and so that nothing might remain in doubt,”

²⁰² *VCaes.* 1.21.

²⁰³ In 506, “Dertosa a Gotthis ingressa est. Petrus tyrannus interfectus est et caput eius Casaraugustam deportatum est” (*Chronicon Casaraugustanum*: *MGH AA* 11.222).

²⁰⁴ Cass. *Var.* 2.41; Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3.390-391; S.J.B. Barnish, *Cassiodorus: Variae* (Liverpool, 1992) p.38-44; and *PLRE II* pp.233-234.

²⁰⁵ See R. Lambertini, *La codificazione di Alarico II* (Torino 1990).

and it asserted that “the assent of the venerable bishops and chosen provincials has strengthened” it.²⁰⁶

The work is a typical product of Roman provincial jurisprudence. It complemented, but did not replace, the *Codex Euricianus* by giving the Visigothic *imprimatur* to the great bulk of existing Roman legislation. In doing so, it reinforced the notion that the Visigothic kings were the direct successors of the Roman emperors. But this is not to say that the *Breviarium* merely copied the *Codex Theodosianus*. Far from it. For one thing, some Roman legislation, such as that on *hospitium*, *agri deserti*, and heretics, was omitted. Other laws were revised. The *Breviarium* repeated the Roman 370s-era prohibition of intermarriage between Romans and barbarians, but substituted the words *Romani* and *barbari* for *provinciales* and *gentiles*, a curious instance of the Visigoths self-identifying as barbarians.²⁰⁷

The *Breviarium* also included extensive legal commentaries (*interpretationes*) on the Theodosian provisions, which serve as an indication of the enormous scope of legal activities in fifth-century Gaul. Although it has been generally assumed that Alaric’s Gallo-Roman legal advisers completed the task of assembling and issuing the code within the remarkably short space of a few months, it would seem more likely that the work might have been going on for a very long time in private Gallic legal circles, and that the politically astute Gauls merely used Alaric’s dire straits to their own advantage in securing his approval for work which was already essentially complete.

The Nicene bishops of Aquitania, meanwhile, were allowed to congregate in the small coastal town of Agde, the first Aquitanian council since the arrival of the Goths in Aquitania, indeed, the first since the late fourth century. The chief figure in the gathering was Caesarius of Arles who had been banished to Bordeaux but had now been assigned the honor of convening the council. The prologue to the council begins: “When in the name of the Lord, with the permission of Our Lord the Most Glorious, Magnificent and Pious King [Alaric] the blessed synod had gathered, and there with our knees bent to the ground we prayed for his kingdom and for his long life, so

²⁰⁶ “ut omnis legum Romanarum et antiqui iuris obscuritas adhibitis sacerdotibus ac nobilibus viris in lucem intellegentiae melioris deducta resplendeat et nihil habeatur ambiguum ... venerabilium episcoporum vel electorum provincialium nostrorum roboravit adsensus” (Mommson ed., *C.Th.* 1.xxxiii-xxxv).

²⁰⁷ *CTh* 3.14.1; this clearly Roman alteration may have escaped the notice of the *Breviarium*’s Visigothic sponsors.

that the Lord might expand the realm of him who had permitted to us the opportunity to meet..."²⁰⁸ This apparently servile wording demonstrates the extent to which the Visigothic king proposed to control the ecclesiastical life of the kingdom.

The council's no less than 48 canons demonstrate that the Aquitanian bishops had a lot of catching up to do. The bishops' primary concern was for regulating ecclesiastical life of both clergy and laity. One canon, whose authenticity, however, is in doubt, repeats the aforementioned restriction on mixed marriages found in the *Breviary*: "It is not proper to mix marriages with any heretics, and to give them sons or daughters, but [it is proper] to accept them, if they promise that they are going to become Catholic Christians."²⁰⁹ The final canon, meanwhile, decreed hopefully, "It is fitting that a synod be summoned each year, according to the dictates of the fathers."²¹⁰

Meanwhile, Clovis' plans to attack Alaric continued apace. Gregory of Tours reports that he declared, "I take it very ill that these Arians should hold so large a part of Gaul. Let us go and overcome them with God's help, and bring their land under our rule."²¹¹ It is probably at this time, moreover, that Theoderic the Ostrogoth again attempted to interfere in Gaul by proposing that the quarrel between Alaric and Clovis be settled by mediation. He sent extant letters not only to these two, but also to Gundobad, and to the kings of the Thuringians, Heruls, and Varni.²¹² He suggested an arbitrated end to the disputes, with himself as the mediator, and he specifically forbade his father-in-law Clovis from attacking Alaric.

Clovis, however, was in no mood to subordinate himself to Theoderic, and in 507 he undertook his threatened invasion of the Visigothic kingdom. At Tours, meanwhile, the bishop was now Licinius.²¹³ Volusianus' successor Verus (ca. 497-506/507) already

²⁰⁸ *cum in nomine domini ex permissu domini nostri gloriosissimi magnificentissimi piissimique regis... sancta synodus convenisset, ibique flexis in terram genibus, pro regno eius, pro longaeuitate... deprecemur, ut qui nobis congregationis permiserat potestatem, regnum eius dominus... extenderet...* (*Corp.chr.lat.* 148.192).

²⁰⁹ *quoniam non oportet cum omnibus hereticis miscere connubia, et vel filios vel filias dare, sed potius accipere, si tamen se profitentur christianos futuros esse catholicos* (no. 20[67]: *Corp.chr.lat.* 148.228). The most likely source of "heretics" would have been the barbarian Arians. The canon is included in a list appended to some manuscripts of the council.

²¹⁰ *synodum etiam secundum constituta patrum annis singulis placuit congregari* (*Corp.chr.lat.* 148.212).

²¹¹ *HF* 2.37.

²¹² Cass. *Var.* 3.1-4; see Barnish, *Variae*, pp.45-49.

²¹³ Greg.Tur. *HF* 2.39.

had suffered the same fate as his predecessor: "And he, because of his enthusiasm for the same cause, was considered suspect by the Goths, and having been carried off into exile, he died."²¹⁴ The circumstances of Verus' exile, however, are very unclear. One wonders whether his failure to attend Agde indicates he was in exile already, or whether it might have influenced the decision to exile him: if the bishop of Tours had proven unreliable once, he was not to be trusted again.

It also was just before 507, it seems, that Quintianus, bishop of Rodez, already exiled from Africa, was faced with both civic dissension and accusations of treachery: "After a quarrel had arisen between the citizens and the bishop, a suspicion came to the Goths who then were stationed in [Rodez] that the bishop wished to subject himself to the rule of the Franks, and having considered the matter, they decided to run him through with a sword."²¹⁵ But Quintianus, apprised of this plot, took refuge at Clermont. But there is at least one problem with this account: Clermont too was in the Visigothic kingdom, and even closer to the Franks. So this story may be more representative of the general anxiety that prevailed at the time just preceding Clovis' invasion than of any actual dealings Quintianus had with the Franks.

In the spring of 507 Clovis undertook his threatened invasion of the Visigothic kingdom.²¹⁶ The two armies met at Vouillé, just outside of Poitiers. One result of Alaric's policy of conciliation was the participation of Gallo-Romans at the deciding battle. There was a large contingent from Clermont, led by Apollinaris, the son of Sidonius, and the flower of the Arvernian aristocracy.²¹⁷ And another tradition tells of an Avitus from Périgueux who engaged in military service at this time "so that he could fight against the hostile army of the Franks."²¹⁸

²¹⁴ "et ipse pro memoratae causae zelo suspectus habitus a Gothis in exilio deductus vitam finivit" (Greg.Tur. *HF* 10.31).

²¹⁵ "orto inter cives et episcopum scandalo, Gothos qui tunc in antedicta urbe morabantur suspicio attingit, quod se vellet episcopus Francorum ditionibus subdere, consilioque accepto, cogitaverunt eum perfodere gladio" (Greg.Tur. *HF* 2.36, cf. *Vit.pat.* 4.1).

²¹⁶ One of Clovis' soldiers stole hay from a poor man of Tours, which would not have been a serious problem in the summer or fall, and Clovis could not cross the Vienne because its swollen by heavy rains (*HF* 2.37).

²¹⁷ Greg.Tur. *HF* 2.37.

²¹⁸ "ut contra hostilem Francorum aciem pugnaturus" (*Vita Aviti eremitae* 1: *AASS* June IV p.292).

But it was all for naught. The end result was the destruction of the Visigothic army and the death of Alaric. The *Galic Chronicle of 511* reported, "Alaric, king of the Goths, was killed by the Franks. Toulouse was burned by the Franks and Burgundians, and Barcelona was captured by Gundobad, king of the Burgundians."²¹⁹ According to the *Chronicle of Saragossa*, "At this time a battle between the Goths and Franks was fought at Vouillé. King Alaric was killed in the clash by the Franks and the kingdom of Toulouse was destroyed."²²⁰ Isidore of Seville, moreover, writing in the mid seventh century, shows how the reputation of Alaric suffered from his defeat:

Alaricus ... apud Tolosensem regnans, qui cum a pueritia vitam in otio et convivio peregrissit, tandem provocatus a Francis in regione Pictavensis urbis proelio inito extinguitur eoque interfecto regnum Tolosanum occupantibus Francis destruitur..." [version 1]. *adversus quem Fluduicus Francorum princeps Galliae regnum affectans Burgundionibus sibi auxiliantibus, bellum movit fusisque Gothorum copiis ipsum postremum regem apud Pictavis superatum interfecit. Theudericus autem Italiae rex dum interitum generi comperisset, confestim ab Italia profiscitur, Francos proterit, partem regni, quam manus hostium occupaverat, recepit Gothorumque iuri restituit* [version 2]²²¹

Alaric ... was reigning at Toulouse. After spending his youth in leisure and good times, he was finally incited by the Franks.... Clovis, king of the Franks, desired to rule Gaul and declared war against him, having gained the assistance of the Burgundians. And he killed Alaric who was overcome near Poitiers after the Gothic army had been put to flight.... and after his death the kingdom of Toulouse was destroyed and occupied by the Franks. Furthermore, when Theoderic, the king of Italy, learned of the death of his son-in-law, he immediately set out from Italy and defeated the Franks, and restored part of the kingdom, which had been occupied by the forces of the enemy, to the rule of the Goths.

After Vouillé, Clovis' son Theoderic advanced from Poitiers to occupy Albi, Rodez, and Clermont. Clovis left Poitiers, wintered in Bordeaux, then in 508 went to Toulouse and Angoulême, and then returned to Tours. During the next year, Clovis occupied much of the rest of the kingdom of Toulouse. All that remained to the Visigoths in Gaul was Septimania, a coastal strip focused on Nar-

²¹⁹ "Occisus Alaricus rex Gothorum a Francis. Tolosa a Francis et Burgundionibus incensa et Barcinona a Gundefade rege Burgundionum capta..." (*Chron.gall.511* s.a.507: *MGH AA* 9.665).

²²⁰ "His diebus pugna Gotthorum et Francorum Voglada facta. Alaricus rex in proelio a Francis interfectus est: regnum Tolosanum destructum est" (*Chron.Caesaraug.* s.a.507: *MGH AA* 11.222).

²²¹ Isid.Hisp. *Hist.goth.* 36: *MGH AA* 11.281-282.

bonne. The kingdom of the Visigoths was now the Kingdom of Toledo, and was firmly entrenched in Spain. But the Gothic kingdom of Toulouse was at an end after a brief 87-year existence. And the history of post-Roman Gaul was to be written not by the Visigoths but by the Franks.

CHAPTER TWO

ST. MARTIN OF BRAGA, THE SUEVES AND GALLAECIA¹

Maria João Violante Branco

1. *Before the Arrival of the Sueves*

The northwestern boundary of the Iberian Peninsula, to which both the Sueves and Martin would come to, was an area marked by its extraordinary blend of different peoples and cultures (see map). This gave the province a special character, which allows us to recognize, by the time the barbarians settled there, a diverse population, forced to live together within the framework of Roman culture.² The inhabitants of fifth century Gallaecia had already witnessed several migrations of varied dimensions and designs, peaceful and warlike expeditions, and settlements of different peoples with diverse commercial purposes.³

The Roman conquest was the last major invasion before the Germanic one. But the Roman supremacy was to be quite different from the preceding ones, not only because it entailed a long period of warfare against the local populations (namely the Lusitanians) but

¹ I must begin by thanking my friend and colleague Professor Alberto Ferreiro for his kind invitation to take part in this work and for his accurate exhaustive corrections of my English, as well as for all his useful suggestions and criticisms. I also wish to express my gratitude to Professor Aires Nascimento, who thoroughly examined the study, and to my friends and colleagues Filipa Reis, John Huffstott and Paulo Batista, who helped me a great deal with English grammar and with the illustrations.

² This variety of cultures is also partially responsible for the uniqueness of the Iberian Peninsula during the celebrated Hispanic seventh century with its cultural expressions. The cultural importance of the Iberian Peninsula in the seventh century, in contrast to other regions is a well known fact. See J. N. Hillgarth, "Visigothic Spain and Early Christian Ireland," *Visigothic Spain, Byzantium and the Irish*. London, 1985, pp. 167-194, J. Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*. Paris, 1959 and M. C. Díaz y Díaz, "Introducción general," *Etimologías de San Isidoro*. Madrid, 1982, pp. 7-95.

³ For the pre-Germanic period, see S. Piggot, *Ancient Europe, from the beginnings of Agriculture to Classical Antiquity*. Edinburgh, 1965, J.-P. Milotte, *Précis de Protohistoire Européenne*. Paris, 1970, H. Livermore, *The origins of Spain and Portugal*. London, 1971, and H. N. Savory, *Espanha e Portugal*. Lisboa, 1985.

also because of the type of settlement they made in the regions they conquered. It would undoubtedly bring a period of “peace” to the Hispanic populations, for several generations, or at least, a semblance of order, because the internal problems of cohabitation were never fully resolved.⁴ Nevertheless, after pacifying the region, the Roman Empire ruled the territory for about four centuries without any serious problems. A different political, social, economic, cultural and religious order was imposed upon the inhabitants, who assimilated it or not, but who were given little choice in living under a different regime. Gradually a segment of the population (namely the upper class) began to penetrate the Roman structures and identified themselves as Romans or as Hispano-Romans. It is impossible to assume that the level of romanization was the same everywhere. As we know, it was deeper in the urban sectors and especially in the South than in the rural areas, or in the North. More than regions, the Roman culture seems to have conquered people, especially the Hispano-Romans in the cities.⁵ Otherwise, when the Germanic settlers arrived, we cannot not see, as we do, from the testimonies we possess, that a part of this urban population felt a loss of identity as they watched the Roman social structure fading away.⁶ Still, the majority of the

⁴ The difficulties presented by such a relationship will become more evident in the development of this article. It will be sufficient, for the moment, to be aware of the meaning of continuous social rebellions which had their maximum expression in the Bagaude movements and of the subversive character always ascribed to the Priscilianists, said to have also instigated social rebellion. For details see E.A. Thompson, “Peasant Revolts in Late Roman Gaul and Spain,” *Past and Present* 2 (1959), 11-23 and also Raymond van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul*. Berkeley, 1985, pp. 16-20, 25-58, 59-69 (=van Dam, *Leadership and Community*).

⁵ It is unquestionable that romanization hardly penetrated substantial parts of the territories Rome dominated. The cities played the most important role for the romanized elites, and there we find the most developed social structures. Nevertheless exaggerations have been made and all precautions must be taken not to fall into overstatements. Scholars have stressed the importance of the *villae* in the romanization of the countryside, but how far that influence extended is harder to ascertain. See A. Tranoy, “Romanisation et monde indigène dans la Galice antique: problèmes et perspectives,” *Primera Reunión Gallega de Estudios Clásicos (Santiago-Pontevedra, 2-4 Julio 1979)*, *Ponencias y Comunicaciones*. Santiago de Compostela, 1981, pp. 105-121 on the problems related to the romanization of *Gallaecia*.

⁶ It is the position Hydatius took, as he relates the entry of the Germanic hordes in a very well known and quoted description. He is the best source we possess for that era and also a unique source from a Catholic Hispano-Roman bishop during the settlement of the newcomers. See (Hydatius, *Chronicon*. (ed.) A. Tranoy, 2 v., SC 218. Paris, 1974 (= Hydatius, *Chronicon*.) A new edition that revises some of Tranoy's opinions, but does not alter his contextual approach to Galicia, R. W. Burgess, *The*

rural inhabitants knew very little of the Roman reality, living as they did, far from the cities, speaking no Latin and coming into contact with only sparse remains of the Roman presence in Gallaecia.

The isolated rural territories of Gallaecia belong to those where romanization entered in a modest way.⁷ In these vast territories, the Roman Empire was to effect mere superficial changes, as we can easily recognize by the repeated accusations from the upper hierarchies on the feebleness of the rustic's romanization and by a series of other traces of non latinization.⁸ The settlement of Christianity into the Roman Iberian peninsula, with its institutions and habits, brought important new elements into this multicultural ambience that flourished in the fifth and sixth centuries.

In the Iberian Peninsula, the late entry of Christianity, was initially accomplished by a modest implantation in the network of the Ro-

Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana—Two contemporary accounts of the final years of the Roman Empire. Oxford, 1993 makes it evident that the migration of the barbarians seemed to him and surely to his fellows like the end of the world and of civilization. It is significant coming from someone who was an Hispano-Roman, from Gallaecia itself, living in an age when the Christian religion was constantly threatened by the political changes. Another "Gallaecian" romanized Hispano-Roman was Orosius, who reacted very much in the same way initially, considering the barbarians as evil and then changing his mind and portraying them as better than the leaders of the Roman Empire. On both of them and their historical concepts, see J. E. López Perreira, *O primeiro Espertar Cultural de Galicia*. Santiago de Compostela, 1989, pp. 135-164 (= López Perreira, *Espertar Cultural*).

⁷ Cf. M. C. Díaz y Díaz, "La Cristianización en Gallaecia," *La Romanización en Galicia. Cuadernos del Seminario de Estudios Cerámicos de Sargadelos* (1976) pp.107-116 and J. N. Hillgarth, "Popular Religion in Visigothic Spain," *Visigothic Spain*, p. 7.

⁸ Cf. Tranoy, *La Galice Romaine, Recherches sur le nord-ouest de la péninsule ibérique dans l'Antiquité*. Bordeaux, 1982 (= Tranoy, *La Galice Romaine*). In this study the author makes it clear how inaccurate assessments of some scholars are on the alleged non romanization of Gallaecia. In fact, his work, based on textual, archaeological and epigraphical evidence testifies to a Gallaecia sufficiently romanized to have its administrative structure divided into three *conventi*, each with their respective capital cities where fiscal, religious, and economic activities unfolded in a romanized culture. In this context, the liveliness of the *conventus bracarenensis* is particularly evident. The countryside reveals itself harder to study, but the growth in number and details of *villae* and the richness that region revealed by the importance of the late antique coin hoards found in the Douro valley speak of an area more romanized than has been thought. Nevertheless, the finding of epigraphical evidence on the perpetuation of indigenous cults and the texts we possess give us a more reasonable picture of what might be a region romanized in spots with a very different pattern of settlement, hosting a multi-faceted lifestyle. Ranging from the best Roman-like cultures to the ones who did not even know what Rome was, through a vast majority of people who mixed the inheritances they were in touch with.

man cities.⁹ The “new” religion seems to have entered the peninsula from the South, coming in by the hands of merchants and legionaries who arrived from Africa or the Orient, and spread their beliefs through their most favored setting: the cities. In these first steps of the Christian faith in the peninsula, it seems that there was little more than a frail ecclesiastical organization to support the new converts.¹⁰ Yet, when the Council of Elvira met around the year 300, nineteen Iberian bishops attended the gathering, which seems to indicate a considerable complexity in the way in which the church was being developed.¹¹ Not only were there believers in general, but also an organized Church structure, with its communities, clergy and rituals that had developed to the point of being able to necessitate a meeting of the bishops of those communities to define common procedures. An analysis of the communities where these nineteen bishops had their sees permits us, furthermore, to ascertain how Christianity followed the romanization process. Like the Roman Empire, it seems to have had an easier time in settling in the southern cities than in the northern regions.¹²

In the North, namely in the northwestern territories of Gallaecia, the Christian faith had to fight against a strong indigenous paganism which had not been banished by the romanization, but, on the contrary, through the adoption of the Latin language, was perpetuated effectively.¹³ The sound and erudite work of Tranoy on Roman Gallaecia reveals an immense abundance of tombstones and votive stones (dating from the two first centuries of our era) which contain proper names that are in Latin, but whose surnames reflect a non Latin indigenous origin.¹⁴ The majority of these stones are dedicated

⁹ Cf. M. C. Díaz y Díaz, “Los orígenes cristianos de la Península vistos por algunos textos del siglo VII,” *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos* 28 (1973) 277-84.

¹⁰ See J. N. Hillgarth, “Visigothic Spain and Early Christian Ireland,” *Visigothic Spain*, pp. 167-194 and M. Sotomayor, *La Iglesia en la España Romana*, in *Historia de la Iglesia en España*. (ed) García Villoslada, vol. I, Madrid, 1979 (=Sotomayor, *Historia de la Iglesia*).

¹¹ For the texts of the councils see *Concilios Visigóticos e hispano-romanos*. (ed.) J. Vives, Barcelona-Madrid, 1963 (=Vives, *Concilios*); see also, on the councils themselves, J. Orlandis, D. Ramos-Lissón, *Historia de los Concilios de la España Romana y Visigoda*. Pamplona, 1986.

¹² M. C. Díaz y Díaz, “Orígenes cristianos en Lugo,” *Actas del Coloquio Internacional sobre el Bimilenario de Lugo*. Lugo, 1977, pp. 237-250.

¹³ See J. M. Blázquez, *Religiones en la España Antigua*. Madrid, 1991 and M. P. Rodríguez Álvarez, “Sincretismo de la religión indígena y la religión romana visto a través de las estelas antropomorfas,” *Brigantium* 2 (1981) 73-82.

¹⁴ A. Tranoy, *La Galice Romaine*, pp. 261-361.

to native divinities whose names are engraved in the Latin alphabet and permits us to understand the importance of their cult in Gallaecia. The more significant number of these are found within the *conventus bracarenensis*, which is of particular interest to us, since it was there that both the Sueves and Martin of Braga would settle.¹⁵ All these factors shed light on the manner in which the Roman Empire dealt with the populations it ruled over, and of the kind of assimilation that took place in those inhospitable regions. While absorbing the "roman way" of worshipping their gods, the inhabitants still kept their own gods and cultural traditions. However important these cultural traditions may have been, we must never underestimate the fact that Rome did impose their own cults, and as such helped to transmit them through Latin.

When studying the various types of indigenous divinities they show themselves as rather intricate and in some cases it is easy to attribute to them a foreign origin (some might result from an assimilation of Celtic divinities), while in other cases they do not represent anything more than ethnic, local or tutelary deities. From within this intricate system of divinities and beliefs emerged the important astral cults.¹⁶ These practices, much celebrated by classical authors when describing the religions of the early Gallaecia, show us only the resemblance of these primitive cults to the great majority of all primitive religions where naturalist cults flourished in abundance.¹⁷

This religious vitality and strong tendency to worship natural deities has been considered by some scholars as one of the most important factors for the success of Priscillianism in Gallaecia. Some have even suggested that Priscillianism had been: "the true paleochristianity of the region."¹⁸ However, the problem needs some revision. We know now that there was a lively Christian Church in Gallaecia before Priscillianism gained the importance that it achieved from the late fourth to the end of the sixth century, and that a Roman and Christian cultural influence had been very efficient in converting Gallaecia's *intelligentsia*.

¹⁵ A. Tranoy, *La Galice Romaine*, pp. 286, 306, 325-326.

¹⁶ See J. Taboada Xivite, *O culto da Lua no Noroeste Hispânico*. Guimarães, 1961 and F. Alonso Romero, "Os cultos astrais en Galiza," *Brigantium* 3 (1982) 95-111.

¹⁷ Strabon, *Géographie*. (ed.) F. Lasserre, Paris, 1966, III, 3-6.

¹⁸ A. Ferreira de Almeida, "Paganismo- sua sobrevivência no Noroeste peninsular," *In Memoriam António Jorge Dias*. Lisboa, 1974, p. 27.

A letter of Cyprian of Carthage to the community of León-Astorga, dated from the middle of the third century, testifies to the existence of a Christian community in León-Astorga that had problems with apostate bishops and the election of substitutes.¹⁹ Aside from the conclusions we can draw about the existence of a single see in León-Astorga (confirmed by the presence of the bishop Decencius of León at the Council of Elvira), about the role of the people in the bishop's election, and of the close relationship with African Christian communities, there is not much more we can affirm until the beginning of the fourth century. From the fourth century onward, archaeological remains point to the continuous existence of Christians in those places and emphasize the progress of Christianity into rural areas, which should be interpreted along with the *villae*.²⁰ The importance of Braga as a religious center has not been clearly demonstrated, and this seems rather odd, in view of the important political role that it played in the Roman administration and economy during that same century, as well as in the next centuries.²¹ Nevertheless, it has become increasingly indisputable that the Christianity we find in Gallaecia had to have had previous foundations before the fifth century.²²

¹⁹ This very well known missive is the first document testifying to the existence of Christian communities in Gallaecia. The letter is an answer from the bishop of Carthage to the community of León-Astorga. The latter asked him what would be the correct procedure towards the bishops of Mérida and León-Astorga, who had denied their faith during the persecution of Decius, and had been replaced by new bishops elected by the community and by then (circa 254-58) wished to reclaim their previous bishoprics. The previous bishop, Basilides, had made his request to Rome, but the community asked Carthage for a definition. For the text of the letter, see Saint Cyprian, *Epist.* LXVII, (*CSEL*, III, pp. 735-743).

²⁰ In this "class" are the two tombstones mentioned by Tranoy which were found near Astorga and in Termes. Dating from the time of Constantine, they testify to the spread of the Christian faith into rural areas already in the beginning of the fourth century (Tranoy, *La Galice Romaine*, pp. 424-425).

²¹ The creation itself of a new province, Gallaecia, shows the recognition from the Empire, of a region sufficiently developed to justify more detailed control and shaping. The importance of its capital-city, Braga, and its *conventus* is evident from the multitude of archaeological remains as well as from the study of the administrative role it played during the Tetrarchy and following. (Tranoy, *La Galice Romaine*, pp. 404-408).

²² The cultural development of Gallaecia has been sufficiently established by J. Fontaine, "Panorama espiritual del Occidente Peninsular en los siglos IV y V: por una nueva problemática del priscilianismo," in *Primera Reunión Gallega*, pp. 185-209 and J. E. López Pereira, "De Prisciliano a Hidácio. Primer despertar de la Gallaecia," in *Prisciliano y el Priscilianismo, Cuadernos del Norte*. Oviedo, 1981, pp. 100-107.

It has been shown, that the Galician church and its religious organization must have grown rapidly, since, from the Council of Elvira (300) to the Council of Toledo (400), the number of clergy in Gallaecia rose from one presbyter to twelve bishops.²³ Even in the Council of Zaragoza (380) with its anti-priscillianist canons, we can see the evidence of the existence of a sophisticated Christian faith and dogma sufficiently elaborated so as to provoke the convening of a council. Further proof of such religious vitality is the work of Egeria, whose *Itinerarium* provides great insight concerning the monastic life.²⁴ Both her work and the testimony of an abbot Januarius, to whom Baquiarus addressed a letter, are proofs of the existence of such a vibrant life in the fourth century.²⁵

Gallaecia became a province under Diocletian, and a consular one by the second half of the fourth century.²⁶ It also gained economic importance, which may explain why Bracara Augusta replaced Astorga as capital of the province.²⁷ This may suggest that the economic changes on the whole were shaping political attitudes. The numerous votive stones and tombstones found in Gallaecia, as well as churches or altars, floor tiles, wall paintings, therms and statues found on the flourishing *villae* in the fourth century, seem to point to an organized region with a solid economic base.

The century during which Christianity became first a legal religion and then the only official imperial religion, also witnessed the establishment of Gallaecia as a region with thriving religious and economic structure (bishoprics, dioceses, communities, monasticism) that prepared the way for the cultural flourishing of the fifth and sixth centuries.²⁸ Ironically, it also assisted during the last half of the fourth

²³ López Pereira, *Espertar Cultural*, p. 29.

²⁴ P. Maraval, *Egerie. Journal de Voyage (Itinéraire)*. Paris, 1982.

²⁵ The existence of an early monastic life in the northwestern regions of the Peninsula, of which either Egeria or Baquiarus and Januarius might be the representatives has been sufficiently studied. See J. Fontaine, "Panorama espiritual del Occidente Peninsular," in *Primera Reunión Gallega*, pp. 199, 201-205 and López Pereira, *Espertar Cultural*, pp. 29-30 as well as Sotomayor, *Historia de la Iglesia*, caps. VII-VII.

²⁶ Tranoy, *La Galice Romaine*, p. 405

²⁷ See Tranoy, *La Galice Romaine*, pp. 404-411 and, by the same author "Contexto Histórico del priscilianismo en Galicia en los siglos IV y V" in *Prisciliano y el Priscilianismo*, pp. 77-81; López Pereira, *Espertar Cultural*, pp. 27-28 and also G. Fabre, "Le tissu urbain dans le Nord-Ouest de la Péninsule Ibérique," *Latomus* 29 (1970) 314-339.

²⁸ We are referring to the work of A. Espérito Santo, where we can be sure of the preexistence (before Martin of Braga) of a cultural environment firmly in place.

century, to the birth of the Priscillianist heresy, which grew immensely after the execution of its founder and which would characterize Galician religious problems for more than two hundred years.

Priscillianism has always been a difficult topic of study, because of the problems surrounding the definition of its doctrinal principles. There are not many sources that permit us to know what were exactly its doctrines and rituals.²⁹ In fact, the sources consistently say that Priscillianists upheld religious syncretism,³⁰ practiced magic and were like the Manichees and Gnostics.³¹ Statements like these, that identify this heresy with others, do not permit us to grasp the theological basis of Priscillianism.³² From the *Tractati*, which seem to have been written by Priscillian himself, we know that they used apocryphal Scriptures in the teaching of the faith, which took place in a community of master and disciples. More importantly, however, the texts seem to reveal orthodox and not heretical doctrines.³³

We know how much it concerned the Catholic bishops, that the Priscillianists led a harsh ascetic life, that they retired at times into the remoteness of the mountains to live an anachoritic life for periods of time, and that they allegedly did not consume the Eucharist. Some of

See Arnaldo Espírito Santo, *A Recepção de Cassiano e das Vitae Patrum. Um estudo literário de Braga no século VI*. Unpublished Ph.D Dissertation. Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 1993 (=Espírito Santo, *A Recepção*).

²⁹ For the bibliography on this subject, see A. Ferreiro, *The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain A. D. 418-711. A Bibliography*. Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1988, pp. 197-203 and López Pereira, "Prisciliano de Ávila y el Priscilianismo desde el siglo IV a nuestros días: rutas bibliográficas," *Cuadernos Abulenses*, 3 (1985) 13-77. See the important studies by H. Chadwick, *Prisciliano de Ávila, Ocultismo y poderes carismáticos en la Iglesia primitiva*. Madrid, 1977 (=Chadwick, *Prisciliano de Ávila*), as well as the work of R. van Dam, *Leadership and Community*, which have shed new light on some of the old problems and assumptions which were believed to be completely assured.

³⁰ Such as C. A. Ferreira de Almeida, "Paganismo- sua sobrevivência no Noroeste peninsular," *In Memoriam António Jorge Dias*. Lisboa, 1974, p. 28.

³¹ In fact, as López Pereira, *Espertar Cultural*, p. 48, reminds us, those were the accusations Priscillian himself had to face in Trier. Those are also the frequent "crimes" that subsequent councils accused him of. For another "family" of accusations see A. Ferreiro, "Jerome's polemic against Priscillian in his Letter to Ctesiphon (133,4)," *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 39 (1993) 309-332.

³² This statement has, surely its own limitations. On the *Tractati* and their finding see López Pereira, *Espertar Cultural*, pp. 50-57. For works on the theology of Priscillian see A. B. J. M. Goosen, "Algunas observaciones sobre la pneumatología de Prisciliano," *Primera Reunion Gallega*, pp. 237-242, A. Orbe, "Doctrina Trinitaria del anónimo priscilianista *De Trinitate Fidei catholicae*," *Gregorianum* 49 (1968), 510-562 and Chadwick, *Prisciliano de Ávila*, pp. 101-149.

³³ Cf. López Pereira, *Espertar Cultural*, p. 47 and Chadwick, *Prisciliano de Ávila*, pp. 88-150.

their critics said that their communities of men and women engaged in rituals in the woods of questionable behavior, and it gave rise to many scandalous rumors related to sexual orgies and other such behaviors.³⁴ It was said that they observed more fast-days in a week's time than the Catholics, that they let the women read the scriptures and did not observe the preparation days prior to Epiphany and Easter.³⁵ They would elect bishops in a non-canonical way, with jurisdiction over non-urban sees.³⁶ Also we know of the alliances they effected with both the Bagaudae, the rural populations, and later the Sueves.³⁷ It led to the deposition of several bishops, and in one episode, to the assassination of a bishop that gave way to a persistent interpretation by some scholars that considers them as a social rebellion involving mainly the rustics.³⁸ But none of this information per-

³⁴ On the sexual depravity accusations see A. Ferreiro, "Sexual Depravity, Doctrinal Error, and Character Assassination in the Fourth Century: Jerome against Priscillianists," *Studia Patristica* 28 (1993) 29-38; on this specific problem, and on the women who always accompanied Priscillian, see . López Pereira, *Esperar Cultural*, pp. 40-49; van Dam, *Leadership and Community*, pp. 74-77, 100-103; on the ascetic tendency see J.M. Blázquez Martínez, "Prisciliano introductor del ascetismo en Gallaecia," *Primera Reunion Gallega*, pp. 210-236.

³⁵ As said in the canons of the Council of Zaragoza (380), as cited by López Pereira, *Esperar Cultural*, p. 48. See also H. Chadwick, *Prisciliano de Ávila*, pp. 32-41.

³⁶ This would explain, according to Tranoy, *Galice Romaine*, pp. 427-428, the spread of Priscillianism in the rural communities, and the fact that Priscillianist bishops are often mentioned without the name of their see. For ruralism of Priscillianism and its repercussions in the countryside, A. Blanco Freijeiro, "La villa romana en Gallaecia y su posible relación con la *vita communis* del priscilianismo," in *Prisciliano y el Priscilianismo*, pp. 57-71.

³⁷ The mention, by Hydatius, of several "types" of Galicians (mentioned as "the part of Galicians who"...), one part which associates with Sueves, Priscillianists and Bagaudae and one which does not, may provide some keys to this understanding. It agrees with the vision he had, as a Hispano-Roman, and with the splitting of Galician structure as it was before the barbarians took it. van Dam, *Leadership and Community*, pp. 90-91, also refers to these alliances, but he sees them more as a reflection of the traditional rivalry between rural and urban communities. In his introduction to Hydatius' *Chronicon*, pp. 44-49, Tranoy suggests that the coalitions between Sueves and Priscillianists involved several confrontations which seem to have their roots in the functional city-country duality, in its operative antagonism. For the diffusion of Christianity and Priscillianism in Iberia, see J. Mattoso, "O discurso da decadência e o epílogo da romanidade peninsular," in *História de Portugal*. (dir. J. Mattoso) vol. 1 *Antes de Portugal*, Lisboa, 1992, pp. 283-292.

³⁸ Hydatius, *Chronicon*, ch. 32, 124, 201, and ch. 141 on the assassination of Leo, bishop of Tarazona, by Basil, chief of the Bagaudae allied with the Sueves. The basic study on this topic is still by A. Barbero de Aguilera, "El priscilianismo. Herejía o movimiento social?" *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 37-38 (1963) 4-41. See also M.

mits us to know Priscillianism deeply, nor to understand completely the reasons for its popularity and longevity in the whole of Spain and especially in Gallaecia. The finding of the *Tractati* shed some light on the questions that Priscillianism raises, but they primarily deny many of the accusations the fifth century authors brought against them. Furthermore, the difficulties in understanding Priscillian's Latin makes the situation more difficult and leaves most of our questions unanswered.³⁹

The Priscillian "affair" took place at the end of the fourth century, and it would shape the two subsequent centuries in what concerns religious controversies and theological arguments. It demonstrates that in Gallaecia there existed an alternative religious thought, leading to heresy, which corroborates the development of a religious milieu full of great vitality during the fourth century. All of these prepared the way for the fifth century, a very well documented one in comparison with the preceding, where a totally different set of events and people assembled. Gallaecia will participate in the most important trends of that century, both in a religious and in a political sense, either directly or indirectly.

2. *The Sueves, Gallaecia and Christianity*

The barbarian peoples that crossed the Rhine in 406 flowed into the northwestern corner of the peninsula in three years. Their arrival in Gallaecia, where part of them would settle or almost two hundred years, changed immensely the indigenous inhabitants' life, as Hydatius so well describes in his *Chronicon*. Two years after their arrival they divided the territories between themselves, among them being: Siling Alans, Asding Alans, Vandals and Sueves. The Roman

Vigil, and A. Barbero de Aguilera, "Algunos problemas sociales del norte de la Peninsula a fines del Imperio Romano," *Papeles del Laboratorio de Arqueología de Valencia* 5 (1968) 81-89, on the same theme. Even if it has been proved too limited, this hypothesis has been followed by many who considered the movement similar to the Donatist one in Africa. van Dam, *Leadership and Community*, pp. 90-91 expresses the impossibility of such a reading of the movement.

³⁹ In fact many researchers have been confronted with the difficulties resulting from the intricate Latin of Priscillian, which make the reading of his works very difficult and ambiguous. This is also the opinion of López Pereira, *Espertar Cultural*, pp. 57-59 and van Dam, *Leadership and Community*, pp. 96-97. The first of these authors argues that Priscillian could not be as prepared and erudite as it has been said, because of all the deficiencies of his style and lexical problems they raise.

Empire, alarmed by the situation, but initially impotent to stop them, due to many other problems, soon tried to deal with the situation. They engaged the Visigoths, bound to Rome as *foederati*, in expelling these barbarians from the Iberian Peninsula. In the space of about twenty years, all of the other Germanic peoples that came to the peninsula in 409 had been either expelled or beaten by the Visigoths of Toulouse in the service of Rome with the exception of the Sueves, who managed to secure a place in Gallaecia.⁴⁰ There they established a kingdom which was to last until 585, when, at that time, the unified Visigoths led by Leovigild conquered and assimilated what was left of the Suevic kingdom.⁴¹

The Sueves never negotiated any federation [pact] with Rome, like the other Germanic peoples. The closest they came to such a relationship was when a marriage arrangement with the Visigothic royal family moved them towards a good relationship with the Empire, otherwise, they had for the most part a hostile position towards Rome.⁴² From what we know of the Sueves, the sources do not indicate that they aspired to seeing themselves as the heirs of the Empire or of wishing, like the Visigoth Athaulf, to create a new *Gothia* to substitute for the old *Romania*.⁴³

Even with such opposition, they still managed, during the reign of Rechiarius (448-456), to create a kingdom that almost encompassed the whole of the Iberian Peninsula. It was not until 456 that they lost

⁴⁰ For the invasion and the division of the territories, wars and redistribution of land and power, see the introduction Tranoy made to Hydatius, *Chronicon*, pp. 24-30 and for more details, L. A. García Moreno, *Historia de España Visigoda*. Madrid, 1989, pp. 21-109, and J. Orlandis, *Historia de España*. v. 4, *Epoca Visigoda (409-711)*. Madrid, 1987.

⁴¹ P. Díaz Martínez, "La Monarquía Sueva en el s. V. Aspectos políticos y prosopográficos," *Studia Historica. Historia Antigua*. 4-5, 1 (1986-87) 205-226, brings forth the theory that the Sueves were left alone in the years following the first Visigothic campaign because the territory they occupied was an inhospitable one and of little interest to any of the factions competing for control of the Iberian Peninsula.

⁴² In a period of great expansion of the Sueves, during the reign of Rechiarius, the policy of expansion started to contemplate diplomatic strategies. In that sense, in 449 they made an alliance with the Visigoths of Toulouse, which assured them, through the marriage of the Suevic king and Theodoric I's daughter a peace with the Visigoths, who were allied of the Roman Empire (Hydatius, *Chronicon*, ch. 140). Meanwhile, after Theodoric's death, in 455, they returned to their traditional independence, and broke their promises. This alliance would be one of two alliances, if the hypothesis by Díaz Martínez on Remismund is correct, *Ibid.*, p. 221.

⁴³ According to Orosius this is what he wanted. See Orosio, (ed.) E. Sánchez Salor, *Historias*, VII, 43, 2-7, Madrid, 1982, p. 279.

most of it to the Visigoths, who were fighting again under the orders of Rome. They were forced, then, to reassemble in the northwestern corner of Gallaecia, and it also began a period of civil war and unsteady leadership of the realm. Since the *Chronicon* of Hydatius ends in 469, we have no further knowledge of what happened. From then until the time when Martin of Braga reached Gallaecia (ca. 550), we have almost no information about the Sueves or Gallaecia.

But with his *Chronicon*, we can understand in a fairly detailed manner, the religious and political ambiance that the entry of the Sueves and their political and religious beliefs produced in fifth century Gallaecia. Even though we should regard Hydatius' narrative as being extremely biased, reflecting his personal social situation, it is still altogether a very enlightening source. Through his eyes we may witness how someone who identified himself with the Christian Catholic Hispano-Romans of the upper class, saw the Sueves, Arian Visigoths, Priscillianists, the Empire, his fellow citizens and the social and religious movements that shook the region during the fifth century. He reveals the existence of a Catholic community quite well established, whose leaders, the bishops, identify themselves closely with the ruling Hispano-Roman urban class. This process started, as we have seen, in the preceding century, when Christianity became a legal religion and in a short time, the official religion. After the decisive steps Theodosius, took towards the Christian faith, this integration of the Church as part of the Empire and its direct participation in politics became commonplace in the late Empire and no less so in Gallaecia.⁴⁴

Political chaos seems to be the setting in which the Galician bishops had to function and survive. Hydatius' account lead us to the conclusion that, to solve any problems at all, they had to appeal to the central government, either at Rome or wherever it might be. It is significant that only once does he mention a Roman official and that the requests for help from the Empire are usually fruitless.⁴⁵ Rome could not answer their demands, since they were desperately trying to solve all the troubles that afflicted the Empire. One attitude that emerges from Hydatius chronicle is the isolation they felt in the so-

⁴⁴ For the relations between Church and State, see H.I. Marrou, *L'Église de l'Antiquité tardive*. Paris, 1985, pp. 180-183, and, for a better understanding of the process that led to this situation, P. Brown, *Genèse de l'Antiquité tardive*. Paris, 1983.

⁴⁵ We are referring to the *rector* of Lugo. See Hydatius, *Chronicon*, ch. 199.

called *finis terrae* of Gallaecia.⁴⁶ This situation compelled the Catholic bishops to take energetic initiatives regarding the ruling of the territory since they had been isolated by the Empire and were now at the mercy of the Germanic rulers.⁴⁷ Hydatius himself went on a diplomatic mission to meet Aetius to ask for help against the Sueves and as he mingled in Galician politics and religious affairs he was even arrested,⁴⁸ which speaks very eloquently of the importance of his role.⁴⁹

These were not, however, the only troubles that afflicted Gallaecia. The survival of Gallaecia as a kingdom depended much on the events that occurred throughout the rest of the Roman Empire. After the initial settlement of the Sueves, their most pressing need was to fend off the constant assaults and provocations of the Visigoths who sought to redefine their *foedus* in Gallaecia. Acting in the name of an increasingly weak Empire, the Visigoths started to look at the Hispanic territories as a viable alternative kingdom. That possibility surfaced when they had to escape the Franks after the major defeat of Vouillé in 507 and their expulsion from Toulouse into Hispania.⁵⁰ Their future settlement in Toledo would bring, along with the economic prosperity, the will to enlarge the kingdom and neutralize any resistance from the Sueves. The freedom with which these Germanic peoples carved up the former western provinces is a culmination of trends that were in motion in the preceding century. A case in point is when in 476 Odoacer sent the imperial *insignia* to the Eastern Emperor, he was, symbolically, returning the imperial power to its ancient unity. More than that, he was really consolidating a dissent from the Emperor which would accelerate the autonomous development of the West, and that would include the Iberian Peninsula.

Roman inattention to the West was reversed in the beginning of the sixth century, with Justinian's attempt to reestablish the ancient unity of the old Empire. By then, however, the Visigoths in Iberia had already a cohesive independent kingdom and were living in a relative "peace" with the indigenous populations. Justinian's ambi-

⁴⁶ Hydatius, *Chronicon*, Pref., 1, where he says he comes from the "*extremus plagae*".

⁴⁷ See A. Tranoy, "Les Chrétiens et le rôle de l'évêque en Galice au V^{ème} siècle," *Bimilenario de Lugo*, pp. 251-260.

⁴⁸ Hydatius, *Chronicon*, ch. 201, 207.

⁴⁹ A. Tranoy, "Les Chrétiens et le rôle," p. 259. In this work, the author demonstrates the prominent role of bishops in political affairs, which makes Hydatius' activity a normative one for a bishop.

⁵⁰ E. A. Thompson, *Los Godos en España*. Madrid, 1979, pp. 15, 22-26.

tion was both the reconquest of barbarian ruled territories and the recovery of the one “true faith.” He had relative success until his armies got to Hispania in the mid sixth century. He had reconquered Italy from the Arian Ostrogoths, and North Africa from the Arian Vandals and he probably thought it would be just as easy to reign in the Arian Visigoths’ and Catholic Sueves’ territories. The Byzantines in the Iberian Peninsula never did much better than to conquer the enclosures where they settled for some decades on the eastern coast.⁵¹ They initiated a series of diplomatic maneuvers in order to halt the Visigothic rule.

In the mid sixth century, when Martin of Braga arrived in Gallaecia, the contacts between the Merovingians, Sueves and Byzantines were quite close, and had a political motive in the threat the Visigoths represented to the three of them. A political-religious alliance would help the resistance against the Visigoths. The Byzantine enclosure in the South might have had in mind the reconstruction of the lost unity of the territory by seeking an alliance with the Suevic kingdom in the North. This might have seemed a convenient way to circumvent Visigothic independence and to bring it to an end. The possibility of a Catholic Suevic kingdom in the North, allied to Byzantium, would have had some appeal even to the Catholic bishops of the Visigothic kingdom. Following the same logic, the previous conversion of the Sueves to Arianism, by Ajax, would have been seen as extremely dangerous by the Eastern Empire, because it drew the Sueves nearer to the Visigoths and threatened to transform the Peninsula into a coherent bloc of anti-Imperial Arians. Nevertheless, although the Byzantines were a persistent factor in the undermining of the Visigothic kingship, they did not manage to be very successful in their aims.

This is the cultural and political milieu to which Martin of Braga arrived in the mid six century. Gallaecia had been ruled by the Sueves, since the start of the fifth century, and they were either still Arians, after their short excursion into Catholicism, or at least Catholics from not long ago.⁵² In this political context, the importance of a

⁵¹ L. A. García Moreno, *Historia de España Visigoda*. pp. 113-131 and the same author “Organización militar de Bizancio en la Península Ibérica (ss. VI-VII),” *Hispania* 33 (1973) 9-22; see also Thompson, *Los Godos en España*. pp. 73-110, where Leovigild’s reign is analyzed.

⁵² The Sueves had a peculiar religious path towards Catholicism. Hydatius, in his chronicle for the year 448, informs us how king Requila died a pagan and his son, Rechiarus, a Catholic, succeeded him in spite of resistance from some members of

conversion of the Suevic kingdom to Catholicism is obvious. Gallaecia had continuously been devastated by endless social disturbances, from within, and unceasingly threatened externally by the warlike designs of her Visigothic neighbors. Martin was confronted with all of these challenges when he reached this *extremus plagae* and was also forced to evaluate the cultural and religious framework of the province.⁵³ Indeed, what he found was a Gallaecia splintered into multiple religious groups: Catholics, Arians, Priscillianists and Pagans. He also found within *Bracara Augusta* (Braga), where he settled, a relatively well developed ecclesiastical organization to support his cultural and missionary activities.

3. *Martin in Suevic Gallaecia*

From the sixth century until today, the arrival of Martin to Suevic Gallaecia has been surrounded by mystery and legend. The seemingly conflicting testimonies on his life elicit the precise motivation and the actual route by which he came to the Iberian Peninsula. This question and the problems surrounding it are no small details regarding Martin of Braga's life. His landing exactly in Gallaecia and his missionary activity as churchman seem to be intimately connected to the causes and motives of his arrival and mission therein. His educational background and theological development before his arrival at the port of Gallaecia, have also been difficult to unravel.

Gregory of Tours claims that, by means of the divine Providence, he arrived in Gallaecia at the same moment as the relics of Martin of

his family (Hydatius, *Chronicon*, ch. 137). His laconic information is all we know of this strange episode. There is no way we can discover how Rechiarius converted himself, with what intentions or by whose influence. It must have been an inconsequential conversion, because otherwise Hydatius should have related it in a different way. It is also likely that most of the population continued to be pagan, from what he informs for the year 466 (Hydatius, *Chronicon*, ch. 232), when he states that Ajax, an Arian missionary, in alliance with the king of the Sueves, converted the people to Arianism. After this event, the Sueves probably remained Arians until their final conversion to Catholicism (ca. 550) traditionally attributed to the efforts of Martin, but presumably already prepared, as we will see further on. On the conversion of the Sueves to Catholicism see E. A. Thompson, "The conversion of the Spanish Suevi to Catholicism", *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*, ed. E. James, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1980, pp. 75-92, and A. Ferreiro, "The Missionary Labors of St. Martin of Braga in 6th century Galicia," *Studia Monastica* 23 (1981) 11-26.

⁵³ Hydatius, *Chronicon*, Pref, 1, p. 101.

Tours.⁵⁴ It was the miraculous cure from leprosy of the son of Charraric, the Suevic king, produced by the intercession of the relics of Martin of Tours, which, in Gregory's version, was responsible for the passage of the Sueves from Arianism into the Catholic faith. The conversion of the Sueves, then, was the work of the Galician Church before the arrival of Martin, who, according to Gregory, was sacred bishop at the same time as the relics arrived, or at least, soon after his arrival.⁵⁵

Although Gregory's text is hagiographical in nature, colored with numerous miraculous embellishments, some of his statements are highly important. Gregory never reveals the real motives or aims that moved Martin to carry out his mission in the Suevic kingdom, nor as to why he was the one chosen for this task. Yet we are told how Martin of Braga came at the exact moment of the Sueves' conversion, which is linked with the relics of Martin of Tours, and Gregory continually enhances the similarities between the two, in an important symbolic way.⁵⁶ Another contemporary writer is Venantius Fortunatus who knew Martin and exchanged some letters and wrote

⁵⁴ Gregorius Turonensis, *De Virtutibus S. Martini*, in *Gregorii Turonensis opera. Libri octo miraculorum*, M G H., SRM. ed. B Krusch, Hannover, 1885, I, 11, 594-596, in C. W. Barlow, ed., *Martini Episcopi Bracarenis Opera Omnia*. (= Barlow, MEB), New Haven, 1950, pp. 298-300. In this excerpt, written between 573-579, while Martin was still alive, he relates the miracle of the cure of the king's son through the intervention of the relics and the "coincidence" of the arrival of "the other Martin" and of the relics at the same time to *Gallaecia's* harbor.

⁵⁵ In his *De Virtutibus S. Martini* (1, 11), Gregory states that Martin "sacerdotalis gratiae" accepit principatum". In his *Historia Francorum* in *Gregorii Episcopi Turonensis Historiarum libri X*, L. V, 37 MGH, SRM, ed. B Krusch, Hannover, 1937, I, Pt I 1, 243, 594-596, in Barlow, MEB, p. 300, written between 580 and 584, Gregory has a very different version from his first record, saying there that he came from Pannonia and that he spent time in the Orient. In this same text he also affirms that he was bishop in *Gallaecia* when the relics of Martin of Tours arrived, which would force him to have been there already. In both cases, Martin is not considered primarily responsible for the conversion, neither in Gregory neither in his other contemporary "biographer," Venantius Fortunatus. Only Isidore, writing in the first years of the seventh century, *De Viris Illustribus*, PL, vol. LXXXIII, col. 100 and in his *Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum Suevorum*, in Barlow, MEB, p. 301, considers Martin of Braga responsible for the whole conversion. For a discussion on the complexities of these texts see A. Ferreiro, "Braga and Tours: some observations on Gregory's *De virtutibus sancti Martini* (1, 11)," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3,2 (1995) 195-210.

⁵⁶ Gregory also mentions the establishment of a shrine for Martin of Tours by king Charraric in his second narrative. As to the resemblance between Martin of Braga and of Tours, he describes their simultaneous departure and arrival and the sacration of Martin of Braga in that church devoted to the patronage of St. Martin of Tours (See texts cited in notes 53 and 54).

a poem about him.⁵⁷ The poem by Venantius in honor of Martin, although written in flowery poetic language and imagery, it is still one of our best sources of information on Martin's life before and after his arrival to Gallaecia.⁵⁸ Isidore of Seville mentions him several times but does not considerably improve our knowledge of what we already know through other sources.⁵⁹ He does, however, help us to establish Martin's *floruit* in a period datable somewhere between 558 and 565.⁶⁰ This permits us to calculate some of the chronological limits of his life, when we combine them with the statements of Gregory of Tours.⁶¹ Other sources, like John of Biclar or the Acts of the Third Council of Toledo, do not mention Martin of Braga at all, evincing silences which are full of implications.⁶²

⁵⁷ The reference to Martin is made by Venantius Fortunatus in both a poem and a letter where he mentions the close relation they had between them and where it comes out clearly that they exchanged letters. For the texts of Venantius Fortunatus, see Venantius Fortunatus, Carm. V, 1-2, in *Carminum libri* in *MGH, A.A.* (ed) F. Leo, Berlin, 1881, IV, 101-106, in Barlow, *MEB*, App. 4, p. 294-298.

⁵⁸ L. Ribeiro Soares, *A Linhagem cultural de São Martinho de Dume- I, Fundamentos*. Lisboa, 1963, pp. 89-96 (=Ribeiro Soares, *A Linhagem*), where he tries to establish a chronology on Martin's life and he mentions the difficulties related to the sources that report facts about Martin's life. Referring to Venantius and Gregory he says: "more encomiast than biographer the first, and more hagiographer than chronicler the second, they have left us very little of precise facts" (*Ibidem*, pp. 89).

⁵⁹ Isidore of Seville mentions Martin in three of his works, but with very little details. In his *Chronicon*, XI, 476, he mentions he preached the faith and was a bishop of Dume. In his *De viris Illustribus*, Chapter 35, he mentions Martin converted the Sueves from the Arian heresy, that he came from the East, by boat, that Martin wrote and Isidore himself read a *Librum de Differentiis Quattuor Virtutum*, and a number of letters. Here, in the *De viris illustribus* he adds that he flourished during Theodemir's reign, when Justinian and Athanagild reigned, the one in Byzantium and the other in the Visigothic kingdom. He also mentions Martin in the *Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum Sueborum*, Chapter 90, where he reaffirms that Martin brought the Sueves out of Arianism into Catholicism during the reign of king Theodemir, and that he was bishop of Dume. All of these texts are gathered in Barlow, *MEB*, pp. 300- 301.

⁶⁰ This also helped Ribeiro Soares to establish a chronology of Martin, assuming that his *floruit* had to be before Justinian's death, in 565 (Athanagild died in 567) and after Theodemir's accession to the Suevic throne, in 558. This allowed him to place Martin's birth circa 518-525, and agrees with Gregory of Tours's statement on his death in 579, after thirty years of missionary labor in Gallaecia (*A Linhagem*, pp. 90-96).

⁶¹ Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Francorum*, V, 37., in Barlow, *MEB*, p. 300.

⁶² On these omissions see A. Ferreiro, "The omission of St. Martin of Braga in John of Biclaro's *Chronica* and the Third Council of Toledo," *Los Visigodos. Historia y Civilización. Antigüedad y Cristianismo*. Murcia, III, 1986, pp. 145-150.

The scarcity of our sources on Martin has been responsible for the accumulation of modern theories regarding the reasons why Martin established himself in Gallaecia. Some have conjectured that his alleged Pannonian affinities with the Sueves motivated him,⁶³ because of his supposed knowledge of the Suevic language,⁶⁴ or even suggested his contacts made with pilgrims from Gallaecia at Tours and in Palestine may have been decisive in his choice.⁶⁵ Some believe he came, stricken only by the breath of divine inspiration, taken from a reading of the expression "*divinis nutibus actus*" from his epitaph.⁶⁶ All the reasons given for Martin's trip to Gallaecia are insufficient to help us to understand why someone who played such an important part in the reorganization and aligning of the Catholic church and believers would want to settle in that exact part of the Peninsula. To assert that Martin came and settled there only because of some form of divine inspiration, or because he had an ethnic identity with the Sueves, or

⁶³ J. Šašel, "*Divinis nutibus actus*, due postille per San Martino di Bracara," in *Historia* 28 (1978) 251-253.

⁶⁴ See the opinion of C. Torres Rodríguez, "Reintegración de los Suevos en la Iglesia Católica. S. Martín de Braga," *Boletín de la Universidad de Santiago* 66 (1958) 11-30, on the alleged knowledge of the Celtic or Suevic language and the pseudo-Suevic roots of Martin, at 19-22. And on the same topic see also J. Šašel, "*«Divinis nutibus actus»*," pp. 253-254. These opinions have been thoroughly revised by A. Ferreiro, "Saint Martin of Braga and Germanic languages: an addendum to recent research," *Peritia* 6-7 (1987-1988) 298-306, who proved the unnecessary need for Martin to know Germanic dialects for his work in Gallaecia.

⁶⁵ C. P. Caspari, *Martin von Bracara's Schrift De Correctione Rusticorum*. Christiania, 1883, p. 4.

⁶⁶ This conception comes from the simple belief that the words written in his epitaph, should be taken at face value. Martin was supposed to have written an epitaph for himself, where he claimed his Pannonian origins, that he came to Gallaecia by sea, that he came directed by divine inspiration and that he followed the example of his patron, Martin of Tours. The origin of this important epitaph was studied, recently, along with Martin's metric poems. They reveal such differences between the quality of the literary style used in the two poems by Martin and in his *epitaphium eiusdem*, that it seems very unlikely that it could be the same author. See P. Farmhouse Alberto, "Para uma revalorização dos poemas de Martinho de Braga," *Euphrosyne* 22 (1994) 215-223, who proposes that the author of the epitaph was not Martin himself, but someone else, less familiar with literary language and poetic metrics. Even if this is true, the fact that the epitaph might not have been written by the bishop himself does not much alter the elements it brings to his biography. The reference to his Pannonian ancestors do not collide with the idea of his western origins. In this context, Venantius Fortunatus's expression—"*panoniae, ut perhibent, veniens ex parte Quiritis*" (Pannonian, as it is said, came from Rome)—cautions us that his confidence about Martin's origins may be a little forced. See also A. Ferreiro, "The westward journey of St. Martin of Braga," *Studia Monastica* 22 (1980) 243-251.

because he could speak their Germanic language do not or help to explain why and on whose encouragement he ended up in Gallaecia.

In the early sixties Luís Ribeiro Soares published a book in which he set forth several theses that drew various reactions from scholars.⁶⁷ His study denies the long held belief regarding his Eastern Mediterranean training and lineage. Many have argued that his knowledge of Greek and the alleged eastern form of monasticism that is found in sixth century Gallaecia was a direct result of the influence of Martin of Braga. His supposed stay in Constantinople, which is said to have lasted for about twelve years, explained Martin's ability to translate the *Sayings of the Egyptian Fathers* into Latin, a labor carried out in Braga, with his disciple Paschasius. Ribeiro Soares argued against these assumptions. His analysis of the works of Martin, of the Gelasian Sacramentary, and of the cultural atmosphere in Rome and in the western Church, suggests that Martin could have been educated in the West, in a "roman" ambiance, in which the monastic life was flourishing.⁶⁸ His study of Martin's monasticism revealed similarities with other monastic movements, such as those headed by Martin of Tours, Caesarius of Arles, or even Benedict. This permitted him to advance the theory of Martin representing a special kind of monasticism which, like Martin of Tours and Benedict himself played a missionary role.⁶⁹

A recent Ph.D. thesis by Arnaldo Espírito Santo which studies the use and reception of Cassian's works in Martin's texts suggests that

⁶⁷ Ribeiro Soares, *A Linhagem*.

⁶⁸ See Ribeiro Soares, *A Linhagem*, pp. 235-270.

⁶⁹ The Gelasian Sacramentary, shows the existence of a series of *formulae* composed for monks. These seem to represent an archaic monasticism datable from the sixth century. The monastic life that these *formulae* reveal encircle some themes that may match Martin's kind of monasticism. They speak of a movement where itinerant monks are considered (the so-called monastic missionaries), where the "unanimitas" as a basic characteristic of the common life is considered desirable (characteristic of the archaic rules, later transformed), and the theme of the abbot-presbyter, all together permit to ascribe the same "Roman" origin to the kind of monasticism which Martin represents. See Ribeiro Soares, *A Linhagem*, pp. 273-337. The similarity of the monastic culture all these men seem to represent has been paralleled by several authors. See Linage Conde, "San Martín de Braga en el monacato prebenedictino hispano," *Nova et Vetera* 5 (1981) 315-317 where he recognizes the similarity between the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Exhortatio Humilitatis*, and proposes respective influences. P. Farmhouse Alberto, "Séneca e Martinho de Braga: alguns fantasmas de uma recepção," *Euphrosyne* 21 (1993) 133-135, has also recognized the influence of Benedict and also of Augustine on Martin of Braga. A. Espírito Santo, *A Recepção*, pp. 68, 85, 87 relates Martin with what he calls the "occidental monasticism," as connecting him with the Benedictine *Regula*.

he could not possibly have known Cassian before his arrival in Braga, or at least not profoundly, and that his knowledge of Greek was less sound than had previously been believed.⁷⁰ This alters the view of the arrival of Martin to Braga as the educated orientalist, an expert in Greek and as the one who introduced Cassian and the anachoritic life in Gallaecia. The lexical characteristics in the works that Martin wrote when he arrived to Braga and in his later Cassian-influenced works show a marked evolution. In his earlier works he never even uses Cassian's specific glossary, as he does later, when he starts to write his texts reflecting the ideas, and the vocabulary of Cassian, but in such a loose way that it is difficult to pinpoint specific borrowed texts. His pastoral preoccupations predetermine how he adapted almost every paragraph and sentence to emphasize a pragmatic theology.⁷¹ This investigation suggests that his knowledge of Greek and of eastern monasticism may have been not very deep. In his translation of the Desert Fathers, he reveals many omissions, as he confuses names of very important Fathers or as he alters some sentences, in order to make them adequate in a western community. It could be that his superficial familiarity with eastern monasticism explains why he had problems translating some words from Greek into Latin.⁷²

The vitality of the Christian community in Braga, is patent in sources dating from as early as the third century. The proliferation of Priscillianism, the flourishing of such personalities as Hydatius, Egeria, Orosius and others, as well as the Gallaecia they describe, are all eloquent examples. When we come to the sixth century, we observe even wider activity as indicated by the letter Pope Vigilius sent to Profuturus of Braga in 538, regarding doctrinal and liturgical issues that display an active Christianity.⁷³ The bishop sent his questions directly to Rome, thus revealing close ties with the papacy. The

⁷⁰ A. Espírito Santo, after an exhaustive analysis of Martin's translation of the *Sayings of the Egyptian Fathers*, identified successive difficulties in his use and translation of Greek. Martin does not show any familiarity with names of places, protagonists or even with the sense of certain words adapted to a reality which obviously is not his, but from desert eastern monasticism. He concludes that Paschasius seems to be more at ease with the language than Martin. See Espírito Santo, *A Recepção*, pp. 49-176.

⁷¹ A. Espírito Santo, *A Recepção*, p. 403.

⁷² A. Espírito Santo, *A Recepção*, pp. 80-87, 174-176.

⁷³ J. Bragança, "A Carta do Papa Vigílio ao Arcebispo Profuturo de Braga," *Bracara Augusta* 21 I (1967) 65-91, makes a thorough analysis of the letter and of its liturgical importance.

letter testifies to the ecclesiastical vigor of Braga's Christian community before the arrival of Martin, and Ribeiro Soares saw in Martin's settlement in Gallaecia a wider answer from Rome to the problems raised by Profuturus.⁷⁴ In this scenario, Martin, then, would have come to convert pagans, combat heresy and strengthen the Church as an envoy of Rome, but, lacking any explicit sources, this is all mere conjecture. Most certainly, the Christian community held ties between prior bishops and the Suevic kings, in order to promote their conversion to Catholicism. The hagiographical account of Gregory on the conversion of the Sueves attributed to the relics of Martin of Tours preceding Martin's arrival, should not be dismissed altogether. The activity of the Church in Gallaecia laid the foundations for Martin of Braga who came more as a reformer and stabilizing force rather than as a founder.

In the middle of such difficult problems, the one point on which most scholars seem to agree upon is his basic western preparation, which could very well have included time in Rome and his closeness to Gaul- *via* Tours.⁷⁵

Most sources refer to Martin of Braga as having a peculiar and close relationship to Gaul.⁷⁶ His correspondence with Venantius Fortunatus, speaks clearly of his links to Gaul. The words of Venantius, even allowing for their panegyric features, seem to indicate a personal knowledge of each other.⁷⁷ Furthermore, Martin's poems reveal a knowledge of Sidonius Apollinaris, whose words and versification techniques he used. His connections with Tours' intellectual milieu are, therefore, becoming more evident and seemingly proved. This

⁷⁴ Ribeiro Soares, "São Bento visto de Dume," *Monacato Galego, Sexquimilenario de San Bieito, Actas do Primeiro Coloquio*. Ourense, 1981. *Boletim Avriense*, anexo 6 (1986) 64.

⁷⁵ This would very simply explain the mysterious "veniens ex parte Quiritis" of Venantius Fortunatus. See note 68.

⁷⁶ His biographers consistently associate him with Gaul and Martin of Tours, with the exception of Isidore of Seville. His epitaph, even if he did not write it, expresses the desire to perpetuate the image of a man who tried to imitate the example of Martin of Tours. But there is more. In the two other poems, certainly from the hands of Martin, the one which does not mention Tours is a copy of a work of Sidonius Apollinaris (P. Farmhouse Alberto, "Para uma revalorização dos poemas de Martinho de Braga", 219-20), and the one called *in Basilica*, a *titulus* supposedly written for the church dedicated to Martin of Tours, narrates the life of this last one and ends by stating that if Gallia had him as a pastor, Gallaecia had him as a patron, establishing a link, between the two sees.

⁷⁷ P. Farmhouse Alberto, "Para uma revalorização dos poemas de Martinho de Braga", 215-223, strongly supports these assertions.

affinity with the intellectual and religious community at Tours helps to explain the transmission of his works, stemming from Gaul.⁷⁸

Other sources also confirm this connection. The narratives of Gregory of Tours, Isidore of Seville and John of Biclar mention contacts between the Merovingians, Sueves and Byzantines. The Sueves had contacts with the eastern part of the Empire, through Merovingian intermediaries, but perhaps even more directly. Martin himself seems to suggest this in his letter *De Trina Mersione*, addressed to a bishop Boniface when he mentions Suevic delegates to Constantinople who assisted in orthodox baptismal rites.⁷⁹ Also at this time the Merovingians and the Sueves were engaged diplomatically with each other, as we can see from Miro's embassies to King Guntram, as the threat of the Visigoths increased.⁸⁰

As to his Roman cultural lineage, Ribeiro Soares affirms, as we have seen, that Martin of Braga's "Roman" culture and education must be the only logical explanation for the particular features of his "missionary monasticism."⁸¹ Alberto Ferreiro, when he studies his missionary tactics, also notes how his monasticism, itinerant and missionary, is similar to that of Gaul and even of Ireland, and, based on Hillgarth's works, he hints at how Italy could be the key to their understanding, a theory that surely has great significance in this specific context.⁸² There are other arguments in favor of the alleged Roman influence on Martin of Braga which testify to a direct influence by Seneca. These studies reinforce what has been previously said, as they show a sound knowledge of Seneca's works,⁸³ and recalling the problem of the place where he received such a preparation and influences, it suggests, once more, a Roman or romanized milieu.⁸⁴ Moreover, this knowledge of Seneca might also relate him to

⁷⁸ If we look at the reception of manuscripts of Martin's works, the link with Gaul is evident. See, *De Correctione Rusticorum* or the *Formula Vitae Honestae*, in Barlow, *MEB*, pp. 165-177, 218-232, and also Ribeiro Soares, *A Linhagem*, pp. 171-174.

⁷⁹ *De trina Mersione*, in Barlow, *MEB*, p. 257.

⁸⁰ See E. A. Thompson, *Los Godos en España*, pp. 78, 84, n 16,38 where he cites Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, IV, 38, V, 41 and *De Virtutibus S. Martini*, IV, 7.

⁸¹ See L. Ribeiro Soares, "São Bento visto de Dume", 55-68.

⁸² A. Ferreiro, "Early Medieval Missionary Tactics: The example of Martin and Caesarius," *Studia Historica, Historia Antigua*, 6 (1988) 227-228.

⁸³ P. Farmhouse Alberto, "Para uma revalorização dos poemas de Martinho de Braga," 215-223.

⁸⁴ P. Farmhouse Alberto, "Séneca e Martinho de Braga: alguns fantasmas de uma recepção," *Euphrosyne* 21 (1993) 105-139 and "Martinho de Braga: ou ?," *Euphrosyne* 19 (1991) 175-200, where he considers both the influence of Seneca and the style of Martin. A Fontan, "Martin de Braga, un testigo de la tradicion clásica y cristiana,"

Benedictine monasticism and the alleged missionary monasticism, as the scarce knowledge of Seneca in the western religious milieu was found mainly in Monte Cassino.⁸⁵

These conjectures, that allow him a Roman and Gallic education, unmistakably connect him with western Christianity, and seem to put aside the theory of an Eastern preparation. However, we must still be cautious and, although his works do not show any strong eastern direct influence, consider the meaning of the allusions on most indirect sources that ascribe him an eastern sojourn, or place of birth. Naturally, the internal criticism of these same sources might display some specific intents that could lead to distorted information, but it is altogether advisable not to completely dismiss their testimony and the possibility of a mingled preparation, that could allow him a western and eastern education.

Irrespectively of where his origins and education were, Martin of Braga arrived to Gallaecia and directed his efforts to the reorganization of the ecclesiastical communities he was soon to lead. His missionary labor followed both the traditional behavior of Galician bishops, by its closeness to political affairs and the rulers, and the missionary flow to which he was allegedly an inheritor. Let us now turn our attention to these efforts, so that we may understand the relevance of his role as a missionary and a churchman.

When Martin arrived in Gallaecia, after being consecrated as bishop in a church dedicated to Martin of Tours,⁸⁶ and probably while widening or consolidating the conversion of the Sueves, he founded the monastic community of Dume.⁸⁷ Ribeiro Soares suggests

Anuario de Estudios Medievales 9 (1974-79) 331-341, demonstrates the rhetorical preparation Martin had and shows in his works.

⁸⁵ P. Farmhouse Alberto, "Sêneca e Martinho de Braga: alguns fantasmas de uma recepção," 108-109 when he searched for a cultural ambiance of the sixth century where Seneca might be cherished, he could hardly find one. The only visible trace of it was in a copy from the eleventh century, made by a monk in Monte Cassino where an *Ambrosianus* of Seneca was kept.

⁸⁶ This must be the church that Gregory states was built by King Charraric (Gregory, *De Virtutibus S. Martini*, 1,11). Martin's epitaph mentions Martin's consecration as being performed in a church whose patron was S. Martin of Tours, as he says "*tua hac dicatus in aula*," (Barlow, *MEB*, p. 283). This seems to confirm the assertion on his consecration. On the location of this first Martinian church see Ribeiro Soares, *A Linhagem*, pp. 205.

⁸⁷ Martin's foundation of Dumium is stated in the Acts of the Tenth Council of Toledo. See Vives, *Conc.*, p. 322. Several excavation campaigns of the site where Dume's basilica is implanted confirm a sixth century construction. It has a Roman *villa* in its nearby surroundings, which presumably might have been adapted to

that the basilica in Dume might derive from Martin's first missionary steps, towards the spreading of the faith in the district of Braga, the political and religious metropolis of the Suevic Kingdom.⁸⁸ The community in Dume shows multiple influences of Eastern, Gallic and Benedictine monasticism and as such it reveals the flux in which monasticism flourished in the sixth century Gallaecia.⁸⁹ Therefore, it seems that Martin of Braga either gave rise or gave shape to a monastic Hispanic observance with very characteristic marks, such as practices concerning the observance of liturgical rules, the reckoning of Easter, baptism, the tonsure, the leading of the communities by a bishop-abbot, a life-rule which combines reflection and work, and finally cultivating the love for study in alliance with meditation.⁹⁰

It has been alleged that during the *interim* between his arrival and the meeting of the First Council of Braga (561), while his work was centered in the monastic foundation, that he composed a translation of the *Sayings of the Egyptian Fathers* in Dume. These *Sayings* were probably intended to supply the monks with "rules" and with texts they could study and meditate upon. This could presumably have been the first step of action that was to become very typical of his long-life missionary efforts: a preoccupation with the doctrinal support for his work of conversion and reorganization of Galician Christianity.

Martin, as a missionary, knew that his mission would not succeed, in terms of lasting permanence, without the conversion of the barbarians who politically ruled Gallaecia. The mere foundation of monasteries would not change the political milieu, but the conversion of the leaders would bring the people to faith, at least officially, and would ease the relationship between the Sueves and the Hispano-Roman Galicians. Either before the arrival of Martin or a little after his

monastic functions during the sixth century. The study of the first temple form has revealed parallels in Rome, France and Catalonia. See L. F. O. Fontes, "Escavações Arqueológicas na Antiga Igreja de Dume. Notícia Preliminar da campanha de 1989" in *Actas do IX Centenário da dedicação da Sé de Braga, Congresso Internacional*. vol. I- *O Bispo D. Pedro e o ambiente político religioso do Século XI*. Braga, 1990, pp. 147-169.

⁸⁸ Ribeiro Soares, *A Linhagem*, pp. 201-207.

⁸⁹ See A. Linage Conde, "San Martin de Braga en el monacato pre-benedictino hispano," *Nova et Vetera* 12 (1981) 307-321, and "El monacato en Galicia de San Martin a la benedictinización: un problema," *Monacato Galego, Sexquimilenario de San Bieito, Actas do Primeiro Coloquio*. Ourense, 1981, *Boletín Avriense*. Anexo 6 (1986), pp. 29-53.

⁹⁰ A. Linage Conde, "San Martin de Braga en el monacato pre-benedictino hispano," p. 310 and M. C. Díaz y Díaz, "La Cristianización de Galicia," pp. 112-115.

coming to Gallaecia, the Suevic Kingdom became Catholic, which provided the basis for a different kind of missionary work to be developed.⁹¹

In 561, the Catholic bishops gathered in a Council, under King Ariamir, when the Sueves were already Catholics. Led by Lucrecius, the Metropolitan of Braga, it was to be the First Council of Braga, in which Martin participated, still merely as one of the eight bishops of Gallaecia. In the Second Council of Braga, in 572, he presided as Metropolitan of Braga. This means that, during the eleven years that separate these two Councils, Martin's rise to prominence must have been rapid. He did not only become the Metropolitan of Braga, but moreover he must have been responsible for the creation of the five new dioceses which we find mentioned in the Acts of that same meeting.⁹² The study carried out by Pierre David on the *Parochiale suevum* and on its relation to the data retraceable from the conciliar canons, has allowed him to reconstruct the ecclesiastical organization of sixth-century Gallaecia, and to attribute it to Martin's enterprise.⁹³ The kingdom had thirteen dioceses, centered around Braga, the

⁹¹ The identification of the Suevic king who performed the conversion of his subjects has also caused much discussion. The narrative of Gregory, the works of Isidore and the conciliar Acts do not all agree, giving us three different names for these responsible for that conversion. Gregory ascribes the conversion to King Chararic under the influence of the miracle that cured his son; Isidore tell us the conversion was the work of King Theodemir and Martin of Braga; and the First Council held in 561 was gathered at the initiative of King Ariamir. Much has been argued about these three. Important data are given in E. A. Thompson, "The conversion of the Spanish Suevi to Catholicism," *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*. (ed.) E. James, Oxford, 1980, pp. 75-92. In his article, A. Ferreiro "Braga and Tours," reassessed the problem.

⁹² P. David, "L'organisation écclesiastique du Royaume Suève au temps de Saint Martin," *Bracara Augusta* 8 (1957) 31-33, and his fundamental study "L'organisation écclesiastique du Royaume Suève au temps de Saint Martin de Braga", in *Études Historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal, du VIème au XIIème siècle*. Lisboa, 1947, pp. 1-118.

⁹³ This extremely important and rare document has been studied by Pierre David, *Études Historiques*, pp. 1-89. Based on the testimony of the *Divisio Theodemiri*, it is supposedly the "state of the art" of the Suevic Church when the king convoked a meeting of bishops in Lugo, for 569, to treat religious affairs. After the meeting, the king had a letter sent to the bishops, in which he states that the dioceses were very few and the territory too wide, asking the bishops to divide it into two provinces, and to transform Lugo into another metropolitan see. The *Parochiale* was the answer from the bishops, dividing *Gallaecia* into two sees and ascribing the dioceses and parishes to each of the two sees. The list does not grant Lugo the metropolitan dignity. G. Martínez Díez, "Iglesias, Monasterios y parroquias en la Iglesia Bracarense", in *Actas do IX Centenário da dedicação da Sé de Braga, Congresso Internacional*. vol. I- *O Bispo D. Pedro e o ambiente político religioso do Século XI*. Braga, 1990, pp.295-317, also deals with

metropolitan See which had custody over the bishoprics under its jurisdiction. The dioceses were divided into two sub-groups: one under the immediate authority of Braga, (which gathered Oporto, Dumium, Viseu, Coimbra, Lamego and Idanha) and the other under Lugo (which was never a metropolitan See, but included Tuy, Iria, Britonia, Orense and Astorga).⁹⁴ A large number of parish churches, *dominia* churches or basilicas completed this picture allowing us to surmise a vigorous organizing role on the part of Braga.

The two councils of Braga are also a good example of this role. The first Council of Braga (561) was concerned exclusively with problems of faith, errors derived from Priscillianism and other heresies. The second, led by Martin, is a *repertoire* of practical determinations on the ecclesiastical function and its rules, on the behavior of the clergy, on the regulation of the sacraments and on the definition of canonical and heretical procedures. The majority of its canons do not concern heresy. It is normally accepted that just because the II Council of Braga does not show any preoccupation with Priscillianism, the heresy had been banished. In fact, Pierre David proved that the *De Pascha* is not a Martinian treatise, but, on the contrary, a Priscillianist one, which circulated as Martin's so that the Priscillianist message could be accepted as a Catholic one, and still influence Galician believers.⁹⁵ This helps us to understand that although Priscillianism was losing its strength, it had not vanished neither because of the First Council of Braga's measures and condemnations nor because of the Suevic conversion to Catholicism. Yet, and contrasting to the preceding Council, the canons of this one are mainly on the conduct of either the clergy or the laity. The first canon of Braga II regulates the compulsory visits of the bishops to every church in their diocese. It states that in those visits, the bishop ought to get information on the practices each priest follows in the administration of the baptism and in the saying of the mass, as well as in the rites used for any other sacrament. If the bishop found something wrong he was to teach the pastor how to proceed correctly, and in any case, make sure that he would have the

this document. He does not think that the list is a *Parochiale*, (he takes parish in the modern sense) but accepts its elements and posits that there is some economical/patrimonial data which can be ascertained.

⁹⁴ For the text of the document see P. David, *Études Historiques*, pp.30-44.

⁹⁵ See P. David, "Saint Martin de Braga, est-il l'auteur d'un traité de comput pascal?," *Bulletin des Études Portugaises* 14 (1950) 283-299, and *Un traité priscillianiste de comput pascal*. Coimbra, 1951,

catechumens come for the preparation for baptism twenty days in advance, in which period they would be taught the Credo with great care. If everything was correct, all they had to do was thank God. It was also ordered that irrespective of the result of this control, the next day, the bishop should have all the Christians belonging to that church gathered, and should preach to them and urge them to flee from idolatry and from the superstitions and crimes or other mortal sins. The words used to express these wishes are very similar to the ones Martin later used in his *De Correctione Rusticorum*, a treatise written to teach how to preach against superstition and paganism.

This chapter reveals very clearly Martin's awareness of the need for more defined and detailed directions for both clergy and laity. This is probably the reason why, after the ten canons of the council, he chose to include a collection of canons from earlier oriental councils, which must have appeared to him as fundamental for the preparation of Galician churchmen.⁹⁶ It is a collection of eighty-four articles, named the *Capitula Martini*, that provide rules for relations between the several hierarchies of the Church as well as for their daily life. As Martin states in the introduction to the collection, he has gathered the dispositions of previous councils which might be relevant to *his* clerics and secular people, in a thematic organization, so that anyone could easily find what was sought.⁹⁷ These conciliar canons selected to be added to the Acts of the II Council of Braga, are very significant. They show how important his doctrinal work must have been, and how seriously he took the task of providing his clergy with the correct doctrinal tools so that they could improve their service to the parishioners.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ This procedure may be paralleled by his translation of the *Sayings of the Egyptian Fathers* which he made in order to furnish his monastic communities with a useful condensed set of rules for study and reflection. The *Capitula Martini*, are directed to the secular clergy, instead of monks.

⁹⁷ "*ubi de clericorum seorsum et laicorum sententia restauravit, ut quod translatore a graeco in latinum obscuris dixerunt vel scribitorum ignavia depravaverat aut immutaverat simplicius et emendatius omnia uno hoc continetur in loco, unde quo capitulo quis scire voluerit possit celerius invenire,*" Braga II, in Vives, *Conc.*, p. 86.

⁹⁸ G. Martínez Díez made a complete study of these *Capitula*, and he found deliberate modifications to the oriental canons Martin collected, perceiving in that action, the need to adapt the canons to the Suevic church or the Suevic political ambience. The same author has not found any trace in this collection from Gallic councils, which appears to be strange due to the previous remarks we have made regarding his cultural formation before coming to Gallaecia. See G. Martínez Díez, "La colección canónica de la iglesia sueva: los *capitula martini*," *Bracara Augusta* 21 (1967) 224-243

In fact, after the realization of the council, Martin kept producing works to widen his missionary task of converting the behavior and the spirit of those who might need it, irrespective of their condition as clergy or as civilians. In what concerns the clergy, he had already given, both to the monastic clergy and to the secular clergy, some regulations on how to behave, by the adapted translation of the *Sayings of the Egyptian Fathers*, the Canons and the *Capitula Martini* of the II Council of Braga. From then onwards he not only continued to produce texts to help his religious brothers, but also to write to the laity.

He started to address the laity in the so-called “moral treatises” dated from before the two Councils but written in the same spirit as the ones produced after the Councils and with the same objectives.⁹⁹ These works, for long considered a trilogy, are the *Pro Repellenda Iactantia*, the *Item De Superbia* and the *Exhortationis Humilitatis*, which, as Espírito Santo states, all address the dangers of pride. As he was studying Cassian’s influence he remarked how, even if naming it differently, Martin was always speaking about vainglory, and he did so from a variety of approaches.¹⁰⁰ In these treatises Martin tries to influence and shape the moral position of the inhabitants of *Gallaecia*. Still according to the same author, Martin’s preaching in these treatises is addressed to a reasonably Christianized population, who needed to be guided in what concerned their spiritual perfection and not to mere half-pagans still needing to be taught the most basic doctrines.¹⁰¹ This seems much more realistic than the former extreme images of populations plunged into the most profound ignorance, needing a Christianization *ab nihilo*. It leads us to perceive a pluralistic *Gallaecia*, with a mixed population, Christianized at different levels, needing distinct forms of missionary action.

Two of his most far-reaching and consequential treatises, in what concerns the education of Christian believers, are the *Formula Vitae Honestae* and the *De Correctione Rusticorum* which were surely written

⁹⁹ Barlow, *MEB*, p. 4 states there is no way of knowing when they were written, but thinks that they precede the councils because they reflect Cassian’s thought and because they deal with monastic proceedings.

¹⁰⁰ A. Espírito Santo, *A Recepção*, p. 292.

¹⁰¹ In the first treatise, Martin has a more exhorting style, and takes out the references Cassian used in his own works who could only apply to monks. In the second treatise, he maintains Cassian’s references to the cenobitic life. In the third, on humility, he addresses only the upper class of society with sensible differences towards Cassian. See A. Espírito Santo, *A Recepção*, pp. 233-34, 292-93.

after the Second Council of Braga.¹⁰² The fast and wide diffusion of these two treatises throughout the Christian world show the exact measure of the suitability of his works, and consequently, of their pragmatic character. It is, thus, impossible to believe they were a mere rhetorical device without any actual relevance to specific situations.

Very much in the line of the first moral treatises comes the *Formula Vitae Honestae*, which he wrote sometime between 572 and 579.¹⁰³ In the introduction of the *Formula*, Martin addresses it to King Miro, who as he says, had repeatedly asked him to write something concerning morality. He then decided to write a work on the moral virtues of the king that could be applicable to any king, court advisors, and noblemen at the court. The work is a moral treatise, which circulated throughout Europe as Seneca's *De Quattuor Virtutibus* for centuries.¹⁰⁴ Its most striking originality lies in the introduction, where he expresses his wish to write something that will address not only the learned and the ones who read and know the Scriptures, but also the laity by conveying to them morals that simple intelligence can clearly understand and appropriate. Consequently, the treatise is a beautiful essay on prudence, magnanimity, continence and justice, the four moral virtues which could, when honored in the correct measure, transform a man into an honest and moral Christian. The *Formula* has a universal message, applicable everywhere, which explains its rapid and impressive success, reflected by its circulation throughout Christendom until the fifteenth century and further on. The tradition of the manuscripts counts hundreds of copies and afterwards also printed editions. The treatise has a conclusive chapter, in which Martin advises moderation in the application of the virtues, admonishing the Christians that the exaggeration of these precepts could alter their purity and change virtue into perversion as prudence would become fear and hypocrisy, magnanimity would turn into boldness and arrogance, continence into stinginess and suspicion and justice into self-righteousness or neglect. The exact measure of virtues is the perfect way.

¹⁰² For the text of these treatises we have used the edition of Barlow, *MEB*, pp. 183-203 for the *De Correctione* and 236-250 for the *Formula*.

¹⁰³ We are following Barlow's chronology, Barlow, *MEB*, p. 204.

¹⁰⁴ For the circulation of these manuscripts as a work of Seneca, as well as for the significant number of copies still existing (635 in Barlow recension), see Barlow, *MEB*, pp. 204-208, 210-217, 231-233.

With this treatise alone, we do not possess enough information to understand further Suevic society as it has been claimed by some scholars. We have some glimpses of that society, but mostly in a veiled way. Of course, we are able to ascertain the literary preparation of the king, whom Martin assigns a deep Christian consciousness and sound culture, and who is said to have qualified *ears* to listen to the words the bishop wrote, which probably means he could not read or write for himself, but that is not unusual in this era.¹⁰⁵ In the same work, the king's advisors and close servants are treated in a special way by Martin who seems to have some complaints about them. He mentions these as the *cautis* who surround the king, only to go on saying that, consequently, he is going to write a treatise addressed to the king's close servants, so that they might read (these could read), understand and keep the principles on how to behave rightly.¹⁰⁶ He distinguishes the treatise as being addressed to the laity and not to the "*egregius deicolis*" so that his intentions are made clear.¹⁰⁷ Who are these close advisors of the king? Why does he address them as if they needed to be taught the four virtues? Why does he expressly allude to their part as influential near the king? Are the continuous allusions to trickery, revenge and treason, to intrigue, rumor and vice directed at any of them in particular or are they mere literary examples? These are unanswerable questions, at least for now, with the documentation we possess. Knowing how Martin usually makes pragmatic use of his words, we may think they might suit a specific case. But this reasoning has no meaning, since all the observations Martin does make are so general and vague that they have no factual interest, for they do not permit us to advance in our knowledge of the Suevic Kingdom and nobility in a specific way.

In a similar line to the *Formula* comes another of his treatises, the *De Ira*, written for Vitimer, bishop of Auria, who had been to the Second Council of Braga in 572.¹⁰⁸ This treatise is also influenced by Seneca, and is centered on Anger, said to be one of the worst vices, and the origin of all others. Why was anger a matter that seemed

¹⁰⁵ "*capacibus fidenter auribus obtuli recitandu*," (*Formula*, 1) in Barlow, *MEB*, p. 237

¹⁰⁶ This "*legere intellegere et tenere*," (*Formula*, 1) Barlow, *MEB*, p. 237, is also a literary *topos*, and appears in other of Martin's works, but is still important that he keeps on reproducing here this expression.

¹⁰⁷ Barlow, *MEB*, p. 237.

¹⁰⁸ In Barlow's opinion (*MEB*, p. 145) the *De Ira* was written in 572, some months after the council.

pertinent enough to devote it the writing of an essay? Was violence and anger still disturbing so much the lives of Galicians as in Hydatius's time? The answer is probably a positive one, but all these questions unquestionably need further work on Martin's texts before we may be able to proficiently answer them. More than these unanswerable questions, both the *Formula* on the virtues, and the *De Ira* on the vice, seem to portray Martin's preoccupation with the lives of the upper classes, already christianized, but in need of moral direction which might help them to control their human faults. Yet, although we may affirm that Gallaecia had classes which were reasonably well Christianized, we must not believe that all Galicians shared the same level of religious education and consciousness.

From the analysis of Martin's *De Correctione Rusticorum*, which, as we said earlier, addresses many of the issues already proposed during the Second Council of Braga, we are guided into a different religious world. The *De Correctione* was written in the form of a homily, as the right model of the sermon to be addressed to paganized rural populations, as Martin mentions in the introduction and in which he states that the *rustici* should be treated with kindness, since their errors arise from pure ignorance rather than from a bad nature. The way he proposes to deal with both ignorance and disbelief is with loving care, explaining the errors with adequate words, which the rurals might understand, so that the message may get through. Again do we face in his own speech the expression of what he continuously does in his action as preacher and as writer: the adaptation of words according to each design and audience? In the *De Correctione* he claims, according to the Augustinian model, that truth leads to rightness and that by explaining things in a gentle way the errors should eventually cease. In this work he explains the origins of Christianity from its beginnings, following roughly, in a loose interpretation, the scheme Augustine had first proposed for similar reasons, in his own *De catechizandis rudibus*.¹⁰⁹ The narrative scheme of the sermon con-

¹⁰⁹ It is impossible not to establish a parallel with the *De Catechizandis Rudibus* of Augustine. The *sermo rusticus*, as well as the loving attitude were already seen as the correct way to approach and convert the *rustici*, by Augustine, in his work on how to preach to rural populations, *De Catechizandis Rudibus*. On the missionary work and Martin's sources for his tolerance and attitude see A. Ferreiro, "St. Martin of Braga's policy towards Heretics and pagan practices," *American Benedictine Review* 34 (1983) 372-395, "The Missionary labors of St. Martin of Braga in 6th century Galicia," pp. 11-26, and, on the common points between Martin of Braga and Cesarius of Arles, "Early Medieval Missionary Tactics: The example of Martin and Cesarius,"

forms to a complex organic structure, alternating examples from the Bible with specific cases that elucidate the inner meaning of the two that might appeal to the audience.¹¹⁰ He shows a very curious conception of the evolution of religious beliefs, as he mingles data from several different sources and chronological frameworks. He draws a picture where humanity is portrayed as having evolved from a primitive system of naturalistic beliefs and deities to a complex pantheon with sophisticated and specific gods, supported by a mythological structure where they are worshipped in sophisticated rituals and sanctuaries. His goal is to prove to the listeners that all these deities venerated by them were no more than demons playing their part in a hidden history that he proposes to unveil. He further explains how God created everything and is the only source of goodness, how the devils cheated God and men, and how the ancient deities were nothing but mere demons, fallen angels that mask themselves under the façade of something else, only to trick men. Every religious manifestation is seen through a Christian *interpretatio*, so that everything is interpreted as the same ancient struggle between Good and Evil, i.e., between God and Satan. The sermon continues with the catechetical explanation of the Christian names of the days, explaining the hidden sense in Christ's life on Earth and the baptism. After he has clarified the meaning of the words professed during the baptism in an exciting theatrical description, where direct speech alternates with indirect comments, the homily goes on by enumerating the superstitions which kept luring the rustics to paganism, even though they had already been baptized. This information has been used too specifically to characterize Galician Christianity. It is undesirable to do so, without precautions, because the superstitions described there do not exclusively refer to those specific inhabitants, but, on the contrary, they have a wider application and may be retraceable in most of rural/primitive communities. Nevertheless, it is equally wrong to try

225-238 where very important hypotheses are put forward. The parallel between Augustine's model and Martin's work has been established by M. Simonetti, "Longus per divinas scripturas ordo dirigitur. Variazioni altomedievali su un tema catechetico agostiniano," *Romanobarbarica*, 6 (1981-82) 311-339 who not only studies their relationship, but also other works derived either from Augustine directly or from Augustine through Martin's intermediate. For the text of Augustine see J. Oroz and A. Etchegaray Cruz (ed.), "De Cathéchizandis Rudibus," *Helmantica* 22 (1971) 5-176.

¹¹⁰ The sermon has been divided into 19 "chapters" (Barlow, MEB, pp. 183-203).

to say the superstitions described have no meaning. Once more, the study of the circulation of manuscripts and their different lessons helps us to rehabilitate the validity of the information given by Martin. The attentive study of the textual tradition shows how different this specific chapter is in almost every manuscript.¹¹¹ These differences show the marks of its use as an effective instrument against superstitions, as the copyists tend to change the superstitions the sermon refers to, either by omitting some or by adding or modifying parts of them. It makes no sense that Martin, pragmatic as he was, would describe superstitions which were not believed in Galicia. Furthermore, some of these practices are also mentioned in the Council's canons, which reinforces their need and relevance, even if they are transplanted from another Council. What is more, most of the superstitions described in the *De Correctione* are still with some adaptations observed nowadays in Galicia, which means that they already existed at least in Martin's time, and which seems to reinforce the concept of the adequacy of the text as a reflection of the religious environment for which it was written.¹¹² The so-called superstitions included both classical inherited practices and primitive beliefs common to most rural cultures, and include mainly propitiatory and conjuration *formulae* and convictions.¹¹³ Finally, the sermon ends by frightening first and then reassuring the Christians in an exhortative piece, just like Augustine proposed, on the greatness of God's benevolence, and of His immense forgiveness to all those who repent.¹¹⁴

The *De Correctione* uncovers the existence of yet another layer of Galicians, not necessarily living in cities, who were hardly romanized, but maybe romanized enough to understand the meaning of simple words and to respond to admonitions from the priests. We can see

¹¹¹ For the different versions of this specific chapter, see Barlow, *MEB*, pp. 197-200, where the different testimonies of each manuscript elucidate this.

¹¹² For the continuous maintenance of many of these superstitions see Leite de Vasconcellos, *Religiões da Lusitânia*, Lisboa, INCM, 1913, pp. 100-109, and his *Etnografia Portuguesa, Tentame de sistematização*, Lisboa, INCM, 1933; on the Roman rituals described by Martin and attested by archaeology, see R. Jove Clols, *Sermon contra las supersticiones rurales, texto revisado y traducido*, Barcelona, El Albir, 1981, pp. 15-16.

¹¹³ There is significant literature on the superstitions referred to by Martin in this sermon. See the ones cited above but also the classical S. McKenna, *Paganism and pagan Survivals in Spain, up to the Fall of the Visigothic Kingdom*, Washington, Catholic University, 1938, and Meslin, "Persistances Païennes en Galice vers la fin du VI^e siècle" in *Hommages à Marcel Renard*, Bruxelles, 1969, pp. 512-524.

¹¹⁴ *De Catechizandis Rudibus*, cap. 7, 11.

that, for these specific persons, the concern was still regarding basic knowledge, and is far from the high moral standard approach Martin of Braga preached for mainly upper class Galicians. He was dealing with people who needed to be taught how to pray, the meaning of Christ's life, the story of salvation and the need of the abjuration of the devil. We are facing people who needed a vivid wake up call. The sermon, intended to reach out to the rustics, is both theatrical and gentle in its approach. Martin, who was following his predecessor's instructions and advice, wrote a sermon in Galicia on how to do it skillfully. The successful wide diffusion the text has known, depicts quite vividly how useful it was and how profoundly Martin seems to have achieved his goals.¹¹⁵

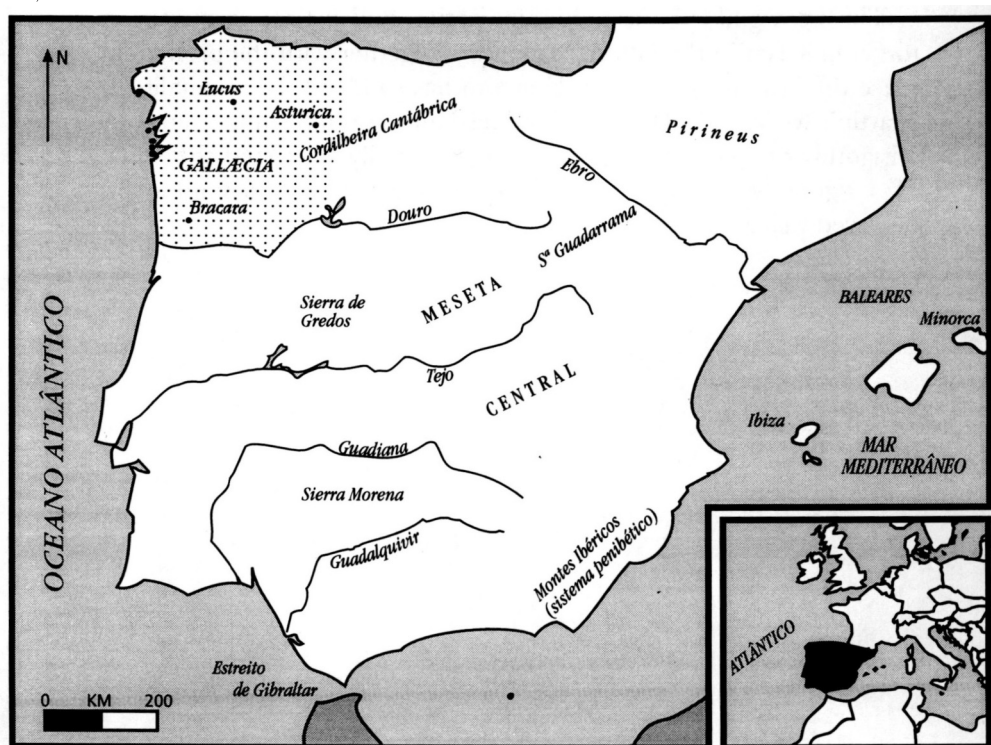
The several treatises we have been analyzing are sufficiently eloquent on his action as a reformer and as an organizer. They also elucidate us on the knowledge he had of the reality he was dealing with in Gallaecia and on the different forms of behavior and action he had to take in order to complete his mission there, which fundamentally meant thoroughly reorganizing Gallaecia.

Trying to condense Martin's role in Gallaecia, it is unquestionable that he left his mark on the religious organization of the Suevic territory in several significant ways. He introduced a new model of cenobite community life, which was to have great expansion and originality and he managed (through the conversion of the whole Suevic people) to achieve peace enough to reorganize the church, to which he gave a new organic structure. He also nurtured it and gave its clergymen rules for their moral, ritual and canonical life. He involved himself in the task of endowing his church with fundamental texts such as the conciliar canons and the moral treatises, but he was especially caring towards the permanent construction of a direct, alert and loving pastoral work, and he exerted his influence on the Suevic court in order to Christianize its members. The real conversion of the feelings and attitudes of the laity, whether they were the Hispano-Roman aristocrats, rich landowners, Gothic rulers, warriors and noblemen, or the little romanized rural populations, seems to have always been one of his *leitmotifs*. This last factor explains his attention towards them, and the related attention towards the clergy. The preoccupation with the deficiencies of a structure with neither organization nor preparation for the mission it had to perform, as

¹¹⁵ The circulation of the text was fast and wide spread, as we can see by Barlow, *MEB*, pp. 174-177.

they continuously reflect in his work, show how deeply he kept subordinating his conduct to the evangelization of the laity.

The Leovigild-led Visigothic unification and his son's conversion to Catholicism in the late sixth century, together with the prominent place the bishops had in that kingdom has subdued the originality of Martin's work in Gallaecia and reduced allusions to its importance. A Visigothic-driven historiography has repeatedly neglected the study of a figure who only now is, little by little, timidly assuming his deserved place.



CHAPTER THREE

CHURCH AND CULTURE IN LUSITANIA IN THE V-VIII CENTURIES: A LATE ROMAN PROVINCE AT THE CROSSROADS¹

Ana Maria Jorge

Our study covers the period between the settling of the Visigoths in fifth century Lusitania (466) and the fall of the Visigothic kingdom under the shock of the Islamic invasion in the beginning of the seventh century (See map). The Visigothic period, falls into two phases: the Visigothic-Arian phase up to 589, which marked the official conversion to Catholicism of the Arian king Reccared and the resulting conversion of the whole Visigothic people; and the Visigothic-Catholic phase from 589 to 711, which ended when the Iberian peninsula was invaded by the Arabs.

With the succession of Roman, Suevic and Visigothic worlds, the western Roman world, both in the province of Lusitania,² and in Hispania in general, underwent profound changes: from the unity of the Roman Empire to the diversity of the Germanic kingdoms; and from uniformity of language, culture, administration and economy to plurality of the dialects, of seats of learning and administrative insti-

¹ This essay is part of an investigation I am pursuing on the episcopate of Lusitania during Late Antiquity. My special thanks are due to Prof. Alberto Ferreiro who invited me to participate in this project and to Prof. Jacques Pycke (Catholic University of Louvain) for his valuable suggestions. I also wish to thank Dra. Isabel Le-maitre Coelho for having translated this text into English.

² The province's organization established by Diocletian around the end of the third century was still the basis of the dioceses's organization at that time. The division of the peninsular territory into five provinces (*Tarraconensis*, *Cartaginensis*, *Baetica*, *Lusitania* and *Gallaecia*) lasted long, although with slight ephemeral changes. Based on the Councils and the *Nomina Sedium Episcopatum*, according to the *codex Emilianensi* and *Albeldensi*, the diocesan division of Lusitania was the following: the metropolitan See:—Mérida; the bishoprics:—Avila, Beja, Caliabria, Coimbra, Coria, Idanha, Évora, Lamego, Lisbon, Faro, Salamanca and Viseu. Due to a variety of factors caused by the conquest of the Sueves, between the sixth century and the mid seventh century, the *ciuitates* of the North of Lusitania (Coimbra, Viseu, Lamego and Idanha) were annexed to *Gallaecia*., D. Mansilla, "Geografía eclesiástica," *DHEE* 2 (1972) 983-985.

tutions.³ The irruption of the Germanic peoples and their subsequent settlement, threatened the religious unity achieved, at least in appearance, by the Council of Toledo in 397/400, and also destroyed the political unity. A new world was emerging after long upheavals and deadlocks, even though the Germanic migrations had renewed an old pattern interrupted only by the Roman domination: that of the periodic penetration by ancient Indo-Germanic peoples into the heart of Hispania.⁴ The fifth through eighth centuries had thus become for Lusitania, a period of significant changes, both religious and cultural. The controversy over Priscillianism⁵ and Arianism,⁶ around the end of the fourth century, was not yet far in the past, when the province of Lusitania was again assailed by a new wave of religious challenges.

If we consider that in the analysis of a historical process it is important to be increasingly sensitive to culture, taken as a specific human reality, and to the encounter of cultures, which is even older than Christianity, we realize that we are in a privileged position to understand the Church—a community of believers gathered around their bishop (local “Ekklesia”⁷) and its action at a given time.⁸ Even if the notion of culture is a recent acquisition of modern language and thinking, it is not anachronistic to transpose it to the past and try to reconstruct what could have been the synthesis of Church and culture during the Visigothic period.⁹

³ “Introdução,” *Nova História de Portugal*. vol. I. (ed.) Joel Serrão & Oliveira Marques. Lisboa, 1993, p. 7.

⁴ Hydatius, *Continuatio chronicorum Hieronymianorum ad a. 468*, 42. 15 ss, (ed.) A. TRANOY, Paris. 1973, p. 115 ss. This is the most important source for peninsular history for the period 409-468. See also Carlos Fabião, “O passado proto-histórico e romano,” *História de Portugal*. I. (ed.) José Mattoso. Lisboa, 1993, p. 293 and Jean-Pierre Leguay, “O <<Portugal>> germânico,” *Nova História de Portugal*, I, p.13.

⁵ Hydatius, *Continuatio chronicorum*, 32. 6, p. 113. Consult also Maria Victoria Escribano Paño, *Iglesia y Estado en el certamen priscilianista causa ecclesiae y iudium publicum*. Zaragoza, 1988; J. R. Fernández-Pacheco, “Prisciliano y el priscilianismo: Radiografía de un debate historiográfico,” *Hispania Sacra* 40 (1988) 27-44.

⁶ On the Trinitarian and Christological quarrel that followed the Council of Nicea in 325, and the Arian offensive during the time of Constantine II. See, A. Montes Moreira, *Potamius de Lisbonne et la controverse arienne*. Louvain, 1969.

⁷ Among others: P. Peña Garrida, *La palabra “Ekklesia”, estudio histórico-teológico*. Barcelona, 1958.

⁸ On the word ‘culture’ and its semantic field see, Hervé Carrier, *Lexique de la culture pour l’analyse culturelle & l’inculturation*. Tournai—Louvain-la-Neuve, 1992.

⁹ On the different meanings of the word ‘culture’ see Henri-Irénée Marrou, “L’idée de culture et le vocabulaire latin,” in *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique*. Paris, 1938, pp.549-560.

Taking the word Church in the sense of local “Ekklesia” we can ask the following questions:

- How did the Christian communities of Lusitania effect their missionary agenda in the wider culture?
- How did the Church experience the encounter with peoples of diverse origins and different religious creeds?
- What kind of contacts and cultural challenges were established between the Hispano-Romans, the newly arrived Visigoths, and the Greek and Jewish communities in Lusitania?
- Of the decaying administrative and cultural institutions of the Late Roman period, what kind of responsibilities did the Church assume?
- And finally in what ways did the Church become the creator and a bearer of culture in Visigothic Lusitania?¹⁰

Among the sources available for studying the question of Church and culture during Late Antiquity in Lusitania, we can distinguish two main groups:—the first includes written sources (mainly works of a narrative nature) and the second includes all the sources which, in one way or another, are related to archaeological remains.¹¹ The writings of a mainly narrative nature can be divided into the following groups: those which were written with the objective of preserving the memory of historical events—which we can call historical sources (such as chronicles) and the lives of the saints (hagiography) and finally the works of a theological nature, such as treatises.

Among the chief historical sources,¹² we should mention the chronicles by John of Biclar¹³ and the *Historia Gothorum* by Isidore of Seville.¹⁴ The *De viris illustribus*, by Isidore, we consider to be of both

¹⁰ On the question of Early Christian culture in Iberia and its transmission into the Middle Ages see the many works of Jacques Fontaine, José Orlandis, M. C. Díaz y Díaz and Luis García Moreno. Also important is the collection of the “Settimane di studio” which is published once a year since 1959, in Spoleto. See especially, “Caratteri del secolo VII in Occidente,” 1958; “Il passaggio dell’ antichità al medioevo in occidente,” 1961; “La conversione al cristianesimo nell’ Europa dell’ alto medioevo,” 1966; “La Scuola nell’ occidente latino dell’ alto medioevo,” 1971.

¹¹ Consult for Archaeology the exhaustive listing in Alberto Ferreiro, *The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain A. D. 418-711. A bibliography*. Leiden: Brill. 1988, pp. 417-524.

¹² Consult, J. N. Hillgarth, “Historiography in Visigothic Spain,” *La storiografia altomedievale*. Spoleto, 1970, p. 261.

¹³ Juan de Biclaro, *Chronicon* . (ed.) J. Campos. Madrid, 1960.

¹⁴ Isidore of Seville, *De origine gothorum. Historia wandalorum. Historia sueborum*. (ed.) Cristobal Rodriguez. León, 1975. His original contribution is modest since he based his work on the *Chronicon* by Hydatius, and on the *Chronicon Caesaraugustae* and the *Chronica* by John of Biclar, at least for that period.

a historical and a biographical nature.¹⁵ A fundamental non-peninsular source is the popularly known *Historia Francorum* by Gregory of Tours, the renowned historian of Merovingian France.¹⁶

Among the hagiographic writings, we find the *Vitae Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium* which are of great cultural importance because they permit us to study local conditions for almost all of the sixth century in the city of Mérida, even if from a mainly ecclesiastical point of view.¹⁷ They reflect daily life as full of vigor and in this way permits us a more direct access than, for example, the legal sources do. We must also not forget, however, that hagiography served as a powerful propaganda tool to promote local interests.

Among the theological sources, we find the *Apocalypsin* treatise by Apringius bishop of Beja.¹⁸

The sources mentioned above are relevant as a whole to the study of the matter in question because they contain explicit references to Lusitanian personalities and subjects and also because their authors belonged to the ecclesiastical province of Lusitania.

The documents of a legal or canonical nature, namely the peninsular councils¹⁹ gathered under the so called Hispana collection, are worth mention in spite of not referring directly to Lusitania.²⁰ As normative sources these councils reflect broader conditions of the peninsular Church from which the churches of Lusitania could certainly not remain isolated.

Excavations and Christian epigraphy help to fill in the gaps left by written sources, as they give important information about the different religious and cultural communities of Lusitania, even though chronological gaps prevent us from piecing together a complete overview of

¹⁵ Isidore of Seville, *De viris illustribus*. (ed.) Carmen Codoñer Merino. Salamanca, 1964.

¹⁶ Gregory of Tours, *Libri decem historiarum*. MGH, SRM, 1.1 (ed.) W. Arndt & B. Krusch. Hannover, 1937.

¹⁷ "Liber Vitae Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium," CCSL 116 (1992) 1-130 [Hereafter = *VSPE*]. Luís García Moreno, *Historia de la España visigoda*. Madrid, 1989, p. 12.

¹⁸ Apringius of Beja, *Incipit tractatus in Apocalypsin eruditissimi viri Apringii episcopi Pacensis Ecclesiae*. (ed.) A. C. Vega. El Escorial, 1941.

¹⁹ I am using the edition, *Concilios visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos*. (ed.) J. Vives, et al. Madrid-Barcelona, 1967 [Hereafter = Vives, *Concilios Visigóticos*].

²⁰ See in particular G. Martínez, "Colecciones Canónicas (Hispania, colección canónica)," *DHEE* 1 (1972) 445; *Id*, *La Colección canónica <<Hispana>>, I: Estudio*. Madrid, CSIC, 1966.

the cultural context.²¹ Let us now consider some aspects of the relations between Church and culture, while at the same time trying to understand certain characteristics of the Lusitanian Church, such as its encounter with other peoples, its way of communicating through the teaching and the art of creating literary works which reveal its soul and its values.

*Confrontation Between Hispano-Romans and Visigoths:
The Challenge of Arianism*

Visigothic Lusitania, as a cosmopolitan province in Late Roman Lusitania, was truly enriched during the fifth century by the integration of the Germanic element among its population.

When the Visigoths went into Hispania in 414, as the Sueves before them, they adhered to Arianism and therefore brought with them the Arian clergy who, under the protection of their barbarian chiefs, founded and organized churches.²²

The settling of the Visigoths in Lusitania therefore put two communities (Roman and Germanic) in contact with different confessions (Nicene Catholicism and Arianism). While Catholicism was considered the *fides romana*, Arianism was, to the same extent, the *fides gotica*.

During the fifth century, the problems of coexistence between

²¹ From 585 on, during the last 130 years of the Visigothic kingdom, written sources provide very little information about what happened in Lusitania. The writings by the authors of that period focused only on events related to royal power and the high ecclesiastic authorities, namely the Toledan court and the meridional Sees of Zaragoza and Septimania. It is also important to note that not a single literary source or inscription has been preserved in the languages of the invading Germanic peoples. For the role the Germanic languages had in that conversion, consult Alberto Ferreiro, "Saint Martin of Braga and Germanic Languages: an addendum to recent research," *Peritia* 6-7 (1987-88) 298-306. Since little is known about most of Lusitania's history, it is even more difficult to learn from written sources what life was like in the rural areas. Thanks to *De correctione rusticorum* by Martin of Braga [Cf. for example Martin of Braga, *De correctione rusticorum*, in *Martin episcopi Opera Omnia*. (ed.) C.W Barlow. Yale, 1951 we have some evidence for Gallaecia.

²² Some tribes had been in contact with Catholic Christianity since the third century. However, most of them became Arians in the fourth century under the influence of bishop Ulfila (c. 311-383). Consult, for example E. A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969; *Id.*, "The date of the conversion of the Visigoths," *Journal of ecclesiastical history* 7 (1956) 1-11; *Id.*, "The conversion of the Spanish Suevi to catholicism," *Visigothic Spain. New approaches*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1980, pp. 77-92; H. Wolfram, "The shaping of the early medieval kingdom," *Vizitor* 1 (1970) 1-20.

Hispano-Romans and Visigoths were felt acutely in Lusitania adjacent to the Suevic kingdom.²³ The fighting between the invaders frequently led to violence against the Catholics and to the pillage and destruction of their churches. However, the lasting contacts—including mixed marriages—between Romans and Visigoths favored their mutual approach to social, religious and cultural issues, and the Catholics, who were greater in number and who had a more highly qualified clergy, benefited from this situation. In this context, the Catholic bishops, sometimes, served as mediators between the Visigothic minority and the bulk of the population of Roman origin.²⁴

From the mid sixth century onwards, relations between the Arian authorities and the Catholic clergy began to give rise to different kinds of problems. By the end of the 570's a divisive controversy broke out in the church, at one and the same time in the religious, cultural and ethnic domains with decisive consequences not only for Lusitania's destiny but also for that of Hispania in general.²⁵ The conflict between Arians and Catholics unfolded in the Church of Mérida which, coming from a relatively decadent age in the late Roman era, had embarked upon a period of renewed splendor in the second half of the sixth century. This conflict can be understood, first of all, as a reaction of the Arians to the ascendancy of the Catholics. The *Vitae Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium* provides detailed information about the controversy which took place in the last years the reign of the Arian Visigoth Leovigild. We shall restrict ourselves to the main events.

Leovigild pretended to build a political unity based upon religious unity. In order to fulfill his plan he assembled a council of Arian bishops in 580 in which the Catholics were allowed to convert to Arianism without the need of being rebaptized.²⁶ His plans to convert

²³ José ORLANDIS, *Historia de España: Época visigoda* (409-477). Madrid, 1987, p. 46. For the context of the coexistence between the Roman and the Germanic peoples in Hispania during the years that followed the invasion of 409, see Paulus Orosius, *Histoire contre les païens*. 3 vols, (ed.) Marie-Pierre Arnaud-Lindet. Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1990-1991 and Hydatius, *Continuatio chronicorum*, (ed.) A. Tranoy.

²⁴ Emilio Mitre, *La España Medieval. Sociedades, Estados, Culturas*. Madrid, 1988, p. 37.

²⁵ José Mattoso, "A época sueva e visigótica," *História de Portugal*. I, Lisboa, 1993, p. 314.

²⁶ For religious unity, see Juan de Biclaro, *Chronicon*, III. 2, p. 89-90, and Gregory of Tours, *Libri decem historiarum*, MGH, SRM, I.1, 38a, pp. 243-245. The political union began with the conquest of Gallaecia in 585 and passed on to the whole Visigothic reign of Toledo afterwards. See, José Orlandis, *Historia de España. Época visigoda*. pp. 99ss.

the Catholics to Arianism met with Catholic opposition through the action of the metropolitan of Mérida, Masona. The majority of the Catholic Visigoths were not willing to abandon their faith.²⁷ Leovigild, in reaction to this, designated Sunna, one of the most pugnacious prelates of the Arian group, as bishop of the Arian faction of the town, therefore involving himself in a decisive way in this quarrel, and ordered the Catholic Church to hand over to Sunna several churches, among which the basilica of Saint Eulalia, and their respective patrimonies. Masona flatly refused and so the king ordered that a public debate between the bishops should take place in the atrium of Saint Eulalia, the basilica being offered to the winner decided on by judges nominated by the king himself. The debate was held before all the people, and Masona emerged the winner. Masona, firm in his Catholic faith, accused the king of being a heretic and preached against Arianism wielding thus a remarkable leadership over the Hispano-Romans of the city, as his predecessors in the metropolitan See had done before him. As a result of his action, Masona was sent into exile.²⁸ This did not mean the end of the Catholic See: Nepopis, another Catholic bishop, was immediately consecrated in order to take Masona's place even though Masona had returned to Mérida during Leovigild's reign, in the year 586.²⁹

Afterwards, Reccared-before his conversion to Catholic orthodoxy-Leovigild's son, decided to forgive Sunna if he converted to Catholicism and offered him in exchange the transfer of the episcopal see.³⁰ The bishop refused the royal mercy and declared he was willing to die for the Arian faith. Banished to Mauritania, he devoted the last years of his life to the propagation of Arianism.³¹

Reccared achieved the religious unity which his father had tried to

²⁷ R. García Villoslada, *Historia de la Iglesia en España*. I, Madrid, 1979, p. 402.

²⁸ The *VSPE* V.V-VIII, pp. 56-78, relate minutely the persecutions and the exile endured by Masona, under Leovigild. On the confrontation between the Catholic bishop Masona and the Arian bishop Sunna, in the city of Mérida, see, K. Schaeferdiek, *Die Kirche in den Reichen der Westgoten und Suewen bis zur Errichtung der Westgotischen Katholischen Staatskirche*. Berlin, 1967, pp. 165-179. See also Luís García Moreno, *Prosopografía del Reino visigodo de Toledo*. Salamanca, 1974, n° 435.

²⁹ *VSPE* V.VI, p.70 ss. and V.VIII, p. 76 ss. Consult, Luís García Moreno, *Prosopografía del Reino visigodo de Toledo*, n° 436, p. 170.

³⁰ *VSPE* V.X, pp. 81 ss and Juan de Biclario, *Chronicon*, Anno VI, 1, p.96. See also Luís García Moreno, *Prosopografía del Reino visigodo de Toledo*, n° 664, p. 224.

³¹ J. Ignacio Alonso Campos, "Sunna, Masona y Nepopis. Las luchas religiosas durante la dinastía de Leovigildo," *Los visigodos. Historia y civilización. Antigüedad y Cristianismo*, III, Murcia, 1986, p. 153.

obtain without success, however, in reverse order: first his own conversion to Catholicism and then that of the Arian Visigoths.³²

The Catholic—Arian conflict reveals, in our opinion, a fundamental aspect of Christian discourse as it related to political power.³³ Even if this conflict can be understood, in the strict sense, as a religious battle in which the religious creed is used as a political weapon, in the broadest sense it reflects a confrontational encounter of cultures.³⁴

The major difficulty encountered when studying the Visigoths' Arianism consists in the scarcity of historical sources. We should emphasize the disappearance of all written Arian documents—theological, liturgical and disciplinary—of Visigothic origin. To fill this gap we have to make use of texts from Arian communities of the Latin Western world of the period prior to the Germanic invasions. A significant number of these texts are of African origin.³⁵

The conversion of Reccared to Catholicism hastened the infiltration of the Visigoths into the Lusitanian Church. By the end of the seventh century, we find a high proportion of Visigothic bishops (or

³² Consult, Juan de Biclario, *Chronicon*, V, 5, p. 95; Isidoro of Sevilla, *De origine gothorum*, 52-53, pp. 260 and 262. See José Orlandis, "Le royaume wisigothique et son unité religieuse," *L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne wisigothique*. Madrid 1992, p. 9: "Il est important, en effet, de garder présent à l'esprit que la conversion personnelle de Récarède au catholicisme s'est produite avec une notable antériorité par rapport à la réunion du IIIe concile de Tolède en 589. Cette conversion a eu lieu, d'après la Chronique de Jean de Biclario l'historien goth contemporain, le dixième mois de son règne, c'est-à-dire dans le premier trimestre de l'année 587." See also B. Saitta, "La conversione di Recaredo: Necessità politica o convinzione personale?" *El Concilio III de Toledo. XIV Centenario 589-1989*. Toledo, 1991, pp. 375-384 and R. García Villoslada, *Historia de la Iglesia en España*. I, 404 ss, for the importance of Leander of Sevilla in the king's and his people's conversion. On the Visigoths's conversion see: E. A. Thompson, "The conversion of the Visigoths to Catholicism," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 4 (1960) 5-35; *Id.*, *Los godos en España*. Madrid, 1971, pp. 73-134; José Orlandis, *La España visigótica*. Madrid 1977, pp. 93-130; *Id.*, "El arrianismo visigodo tardío," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 65-66 (1981) 5-20. and J. N. Hillgarth, "La conversión de la visigodos. Notas críticas," *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 34 (1961) 21-46; R. Collins, "Dónde estaban los arrianos en el año 589?" *El concilio III de Toledo*, pp. 211-222.

³³ Luis A. García Moreno, *Historia de España visigoda*. Madrid, 1989, p. 344.

³⁴ J. Ignacio Alonso Campos, "Sunna, Masona y Nepopis," *Los visigodos*, p. 154.

³⁵ See, for example "Sermo arrianorum," *PL* XLII, col. 677, 684; "Ad Trasimundo Regem vandalorum libri tres," *PL* LXV, col. 205-224 and 223-304; "Sermo Fastidiosi," *PL* LXV, col. 375-377. Consult also José Orlandis, "El arrianismo visigodo tardío," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 65-66 (1981) 8; M. Simonetti, "Arianesimo latino," *Studi Medievali* 8 (1967) 689; M. Meslin, *Les ariens d'occident (335-430)*. Paris, 1967, pp. 129-134.

at least with a Germanic name) in Lusitania.³⁶ While Orlandis's studies reveal this state of affairs, he nevertheless warns about the possible errors to which the use of "anthroponomical" methods can lead.³⁷ It is curious that in Mérida there had been only a few bishops of Hispano-Roman origin: Paul and Fidelis were of Oriental origin, Masona was a Visigoth converted to Catholicism and Renovatus, despite having a Roman name, was also a Visigoth.³⁸ The subsequent metropolitans of Mérida, Esteban I, Orontio, Proficio, Festo, and Esteban II also seemed to be of Visigothic origin. It seems that this progressive penetration of the hierarchical structures of the Lusitanian Church by the Visigothic element took place during the seventh century. However, Alonso Campos draws our attention to the fact that terms like Visigoth and Roman designate not only the race but also the respective Arian and Catholic forms of Christianity.³⁹

The conversion to Catholic orthodoxy therefore appears as a privileged way, not only for conscious adhesion to the Church, but also for integration in its institutional and cultural spheres.

The penetration of the Visigoths into the episcopal ranks throughout the Visigothic kingdom of Toledo (569-714) can also mean a gradual assimilation of the Latin culture by this Germanic people. We can easily imagine that, during their stay in Lusitania, the Arian Visigothic clergy adapted the Church's customs of that province, going so far as to use Latin as a result of its progressive romanization. We must not forget that of all the Germanic peoples which invaded the Iberian Peninsula, the Visigoths were those who had most contact with Roman civilization.

³⁶ See, Vives, *Concilios visigóticos* (subscripciones).

³⁷ This author draws attention to the fact that the ethnic origin of Hispanic bishops cannot always be inferred from their having Gothic or Latin names. The analysis of Hispanic anthroponymy should consider that Latin names were adopted by some Goths during the sixth and seventh centuries. This contrasts with the tendency observed in Gaul, where Hispano-Romans abandoned Latin names in order to adopt Frankish names during the sixth century. See José Orlandis, "El elemento germánico en la Iglesia española del siglo VII," *La Iglesia en la España visigótica y medieval*. Pamplona, 1976, p. 100 ss. See also *Settimane di Studi del Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo. V: Caratteri del Secolo VII in Occidente*. II, Spoleto, 1958, p. 681.

³⁸ *VSPE* IV.I, p. 25 ss; IV.III, p. 31 ss; V.I, p. 47 ss; V.XIV, p. 100. See E. Sanchez Salor, "Merida, metropolis religiosa en epoca visigoda," *Hispania Antiqua* 5 (1975) 141-142.

³⁹ J. Ignacio Alonso Campos, "Sunna, Masona y Nepopis," *Los visigodos*, p. 155. See E. A. Thompson, *The Visigoths in the time of Ulfilas*. Oxford, 1966; *Id.*, *Los godos en España*. Madrid, 1971, pp. 73-134; *Id.*, "The conversion of the Spanish Suevi to Catholicism," *Visigothic Spain*, pp. 77-92.

Lusitania as a Cross-Roads of Cultures: The Mediterranean, Oriental, and African Influences

Lusitania was also an open recipient to several social, cultural and religious minorities, whose influence should not be underestimated. The bulk of these minorities were living in the cities. It is worth noting, however, that the information given by historical sources about rural populations and their way of life, is as scarce as that concerning the interaction between country and city, not only for Lusitania, but also for the rest of Visigothic Hispania.

Before discussing the presence of the Orientals and the challenge their presence represented for our province, we should first specify that by "Orientals" we mean the people native of the Mediterranean East, in particular the so called Greeks or Syrians and the Jews who emigrated from Palestine or from other places of the Mediterranean Diaspora.

Among the Orientals, the Greek communities dedicated to international trade had been living in Lusitania since the beginning of the Christian era in cities like Mérida or Santarém and they formed an important group ready to welcome and help their compatriots newly arrived from the Orient.⁴⁰ The *Vitae Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium* include the biography of two Greek bishops, Paul and his nephew Fidelis, who succeeded him as bishop in the metropolitan See of Mérida in the sixth century.

Paul arrived from the East thanks to the ease with which it was possible to travel between the two sides of the Mediterranean, and practiced medicine in Mérida.⁴¹ He was later elected as bishop of the

⁴⁰ *VSPE* IV.III, p. 31: "accidit die quadam de regione qua ipse oriundus extiterat negotiatores Grecos in nauibus de Orientibus aduenisse atque Spanie litora contigisse. Quumque in Emeretensem ciuitatem peruenissent, ex more episcopo prebuerunt occursum." Hydatius's witness confirms the existence of Oriental merchants in Mérida since the imperial era. It should be remarked, however, that Hydatius uses geographic terms of an ample character, such as Oriens, Arabi and Graeci, *Continuatio chronicorum*, 106, p. 132. For Oriental mercators see L. García Moreno, "Colonias de comerciantes orientales en la Península Ibérica S. V-VII," *Habis* 3 (1972) 127-154; J. Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, II, Paris, 1983, pp. 846-848; R. Collins, "Merida and Toledo. 550-580," *Visigothic Spain*, pp. 202-205; L. Brehier, "Colonies d'Orientaux au commencement du moyen-âge VIe-VIIIe siècle," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 12 (1903) 18; P. Goubert, "Byzance et l'Espagne wisigothique (554-711)," *Revue d'Études Byzantines* 2 (1944) 5-78.

⁴¹ *VSPE* IV.I., p. 25. See also José Orlandis, *La vida en España en tiempo de los godos*. Madrid, 1991, p. 177.

city. This event bears witness not only to his personal prestige but also to the supremacy of the Greek colony and the cosmopolitan environment in Visigothic Mérida in which a Greek immigrant could be elevated to the episcopal seat. Fidelis is another example of this: he arrived in Mérida, along with a group of Oriental merchants, and was nominated by his uncle Paul to take over his episcopal tasks when he himself was too old to perform them.⁴²

The literary notices concerning the presence of Greek settlements in Mérida are confirmed by the archaeological data: note that some Greek inscriptions of Greek families dated from the sixth or seventh century have been preserved. The Greek inscriptions found in other regions of Lusitania indicate that during the period we are studying there probably existed Oriental colonies in Mértola and Lisbon as well.⁴³

The existence of Jewish communities in Mérida is also corroborated by the references made in the *Vitae Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium*.⁴⁴ We thus know that bishop Masona founded a hospital there, almost a century and a half before the fall of the Toledan kingdom, saying it was opened without discrimination to all kinds of people, whether

⁴² VSPE IV.III, p. 31 ss. The hereditary inheritance of a bishopric, although contrary to canon law, was frequent in the Western Church of this period.

⁴³ Consult, E. Hübner, *Inscriptiones Hispaniae christianorum supplementum*. Berlin, 1900, p. 13; J. Vives, *Inscriptiones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda*. Barcelona, 1968, n° 523 and n° 524; J.M. Almeida, "As inscrições gregas do Museu Nacional de Arqueologia e Etnologia (I)," *Arqueologia* 13 (1986) 173-180; D. Santos, "Les inscriptions grecques au Portugal," *Revue des Études Anciennes* 93 (1991) 139-146; L. Coelho, M.M.A. Dias & C. Torres, "Fragmentos de um epitáfio grego paleocristão (Mértola)," *Ficheiro Epigráfico* 41 (1992) 13-16; *Id.*, "Epitáfio grego paleocristão (Mértola)," *Ficheiro Epigráfico* 42 (1992) 3-5.

⁴⁴ It is difficult to determine when these communities of immigrants arrived in the Iberian Peninsula although the texts suggest a remote period. As J. Cantera states in "Judíos," *Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España*, II, Madrid, 1972, p. 1255: "Lo único cierto es que existían en la Península Ibérica diversas comunidades judías en los primeros siglos de nuestra Era, como lo prueban, entre otros testimonios, las lápidas trilingües de Tarragona y Tortosa, la de Adra y la de Mérida. Estas comunidades aumentarían en número y importancia en poco tiempo. A principios del siglo IV el Concilio de Elvira se preocupa por el incipiente problema judío y trata de marcar una clara diferencia entre cristiano y Judíos," See David Romano, "Judíos en España entre los siglos IV a IX," *III Congreso de estudios Medievales. De la Antigüedad al Medioevo—siglos IV-VIII*. León, 1993; J. GIL, "Judíos y cristianos en la Hispania del siglo VII," *Hispania Sacra* 30 (1977) 9-110; J. Orlandis, "Hacia una mejor comprensión del problema judío en el Reino Visigodo-católico de España," *Settimana di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto medioevo*, XXVI. Spoleto, 1980, pp. 149-196; L. García Iglesias, *Los Judíos en España Antigua*. Madrid, 1978; L. García Moreno, *Los Judíos de la España Antigua*. Madrid, 1993.

Christians or Jews.⁴⁵ The Jewish minority was the unique exception to the religious unity of the Hispanic population achieved by the Third Council of Toledo, and at the same time the last vestige of an economic and financial power which controlled what was left of Mediterranean commerce. The onset of the Jewish question in Hispania dates from around the second decade of the seventh century, when Sisebut offered the Jews the alternative of conversion to Christianity or exile from the kingdom.⁴⁶ Forced by the circumstances, there emerged both in Lusitania and in Hispania in general, a Christian minority with Jewish origins who did not suddenly neglect their original religious and cultural traditions, and were thus a source of resistance to and questioning of the gentile Catholic majority. The anti-Jewish policy was probably inspired by that practiced by the Oriental emperors, which shows that the ideal pursued in Hispania was the same as that of the Christian East.⁴⁷ The possible impact of imperial legislation on Visigothic Hispania was probably due to the difficulty of accepting that someone could be a Roman citizen and still continue to practice Judaism. Being Hispano-Roman entailed being Catholic!⁴⁸

Lusitania came under several external influences which arrived mainly from the Mediterranean during the fifth century via the Byzantine regime at Ravenna, and through Gaul via Ostrogothic Italy.⁴⁹ The first route originated from the Mediterranean Sea, the Guadiana river and the Lusitanian West coast and the second from the oceanic trade routes of the Atlantic.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ VSPE V.III, p. 50.

⁴⁶ Isidoro de Seville mentions this policy in his *De origine gothorum*, chap. 60, p. 272. Sisebut, in his opinion, acted under the pressure of doubtful but uncontrolled zeal, ("sed non secundum scientiam") and the argument he developed afterwards is the following: he constrained by force those he should attract by reason of the faith ("potestate enim compulit, quos provocare fidei ratione oportuit"). See B. Saitta, "I Guidei nella Spagna visigota. De Recaredo a Sisebuto," *Quaderni catanesi di studi classici e medievali* 3 (1980) 221-263.

⁴⁷ Consult, M. Rouche, "Les baptêmes forcés des juifs en Gaule mérovingienne et dans l'Empire d'Orient," *De l'anti-judaïsme antique à l'anti-sémitisme contemporain*. Lille, 1979, pp. 105-124 and J. Gil, "Judios y cristianos en la Hispania del siglo VII," *Hispania Sacra* 30 (1977) 9-110.

⁴⁸ José Orlandis, "Le royaume wisigothique et son unité religieuse," *L'europe héritière*, p. 47. On the question of the Jews' conversion, see Luís García Moreno, *Historia de España visigoda*, p. 357.

⁴⁹ Th.S. Burns, *The Ostrogoths, Kingship and Society*. Wiesbaden, 1980; *Id*, *A History of the Ostrogoths*. Indiana Press, 1984.

⁵⁰ M. Justino Maciel, "Vectores da arte paleocristã em Portugal nos contextos suévico e visigótico," *XXXIX Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*. Ravenna, 6-12 April 1992, p. 463.

The river Guadiana with an emporium in Mértola was one of the important links not only with the Mediterranean and Italy, but also with Northern Africa. The Ravenna ambassador, appointed to serve the Sueves in Gallaecia in 440, was supposed to have boarded his ship there.⁵¹ Oriental influences exemplified by the Greek bishops Paul and Fidelis, could have arrived at Mérida through this route during the sixth century. In fact, both in the Suevic and in the Visigothic context relations with Ravenna seem to have been continuous.

When discussing the refugees who went from Africa to the European continent one must not fail to quote the *Vitae Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium*: "from Africa came abbot Nanctus with his monks who settled in Mérida during Leovigild's reign."⁵² One could ask whether these two waves of African refugees which, one after the another, flowed into Southern Hispania in the fifth and sixth centuries, provoked some kind of ideological crystallization of the antagonism between Arians and Catholics. We should not forget that the first of these refugees were fleeing from the cruelties of the Vandalic persecution, and even though welcomed in Lusitania, probably remained legitimately distrustful of Arian royalty.⁵³

The recent excavations of several basilicas and the architectural studies of various *villae* in Lusitania say much about this encounter of North African, Oriental and Byzantine cultural influences. From very early on, Christianity found a way of spreading its message and of best accomplishing its pastoral vocation through architectural and artistic resources.⁵⁴ The sixth and seventh centuries saw the Christianization of the urban and rural areas with the construction of many buildings of a religious character, such as basilicas, baptistries, chapels, episcopal residences, and monasteries.⁵⁵ Christian architecture seemed to profit from the long periods of peace well into the end of the sixth century.

⁵¹ Cf. Ch. Smedt, *Anonymi libellus "De Vitae et Miraculis Patrum Emeritensium."* Bruxelles, 1884, pp. 1 ss.; Hydatius, *Continuatio chronicorum*, 126, p. 136.

⁵² *VSPE* III, p. 21.

⁵³ J. Fontaine, "Conversion et culture chez les wisigoths d'Espagne," *Culture et spiritualité en Espagne du IV^e au VII^e siècles*. London, Variorum, 1986, p. 94.

⁵⁴ Luis García Moreno, *Historia de España visigoda*, p. 373.

⁵⁵ José Orlandis, *Historia del reino visigodo español*, p. 217. Consult, for example J. Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*. Zodiaque, 1973; Helmut Schlunk, "Arte visigodo," *Ars Hispaniae II*. Madrid, 1974; Helmut Schlunk & Th. Hauschild, *Hispania antiqua. Die Denkmäler der frühchristlichen und Westgotischen Zeit*. Mogúncia, 1978.

Mérida, like Toledo, Seville and Tarragona, was a great artistic center, stimulated by the presence of the Hispano-Roman or Byzantine, cultured and rich metropolitans, such as Paul, Fidelis, Masona and Innocent.⁵⁶ Through the *Vitae Sanctorum Patrum Emeritensium* we discover a true "episcopal group" formed by the basilica of Santa Eulalia, whose façade the bishop Fidelis added two towers, the cathedral of Santa Maria and its atrium, the baptistry of Saint John the Baptist, other chapels, an asylum and various lodgings.⁵⁷ The archaeological remains found in Mérida permit us to conclude that some sculptors and architects were at work there. Mérida thus appears as a major center of ornamental sculpture: its stone masons worked for the whole province and were inspired by old mosaics and imported tapestries and textiles. Varied geometrical motifs (stars, crosses with flattened or rounded limbs, round segments, intersecting circles), shell-shape niches, palm leaves, vine leaves, clusters of grapes and the three fleur-de-lis in a semicircle so typical of Mérida can be observed.⁵⁸ Mérida's artistic influences effectively radiated its splendor throughout the Atlantic zone up to Lisbon and Braga, showing deep Byzantine influences. We should not forget that during the Suevic period the Byzantines occupied at least the Algarve.⁵⁹

Given the relative technical perfection of many decorative objects found in Portugal, mainly in the South, and in particular the collections of Lisbon, Beja and Sines, we can acknowledge that here too some artistic workshops were in operation. Several original fragments, belonging to old paleochristian and Visigothic churches, are in the museums of Lisbon and other cities of Lusitania. These include, shafts of columns and pilasters ornamented with grooves and other decorations, pedestals, pieces of capitals whose stylized acanthus leaves shrink and degenerate, wicket's panels, and pediments whose sculptures confirm the persistence of artistic traditions from

⁵⁶ VSPE V.XIV, p. 99. See also Luís García Moreno, *Prosopografía del Reino visigodo de Toledo*, n° 437, p.170.

⁵⁷ E. Sánchez Salor, "Mérida, Metrópolis religiosa en época visigótica," *Hispania Antiqua* 5 (1975) 135-150.

⁵⁸ Jean-Pierre Leguay, "O <<Portugal>> germânico," *Nova História de Portugal*. I, p. 96.

⁵⁹ P. Goubert, "Le Portugal Byzantin," *Bulletin des Études Portugaises* 14 (1950) 273-82; Luís A. García Moreno, "Las invasiones y la época visigoda. Reinos y condados cristianos," *Historia de España*. II, Barcelona, 1981, pp. 330-332 and *Id.*, *Historia de España visigoda*, pp. 85-190. See Helmut Schlunk, "Relaciones entre la península ibérica y bizancio durante la época visigoda," *Archivo Español de Archeologia* 18 (1945) 177-204.

the Byzantines, Syrians and North-Africans.⁶⁰

Mértola's paleochristian monuments of this age are also very important. Its tombstones attest to an intense Christian life with a rich artistic symbolism, at least between 470 and 706 A. D.⁶¹ A paleochristian basilica, already identified in the nineteenth century by Estácio da Veiga and lately the object of new investigations and excavations, together with the paleochristian epigraphy and funerary decoration will give further clarification about the Mediterranean and North-African influences in fifth and sixth century Lusitania.⁶²

As an example of paleochristian architecture in the countryside, we have the basilica and the baptistry of the *villa* of Torre de Palma (Monforte, Alentejo), generally dated from the sixth century.⁶³ The importance of this sixth century baptistry lies in the fact that it reveals the baptismal customs in Lusitania, thus confirming what texts—such as the letter of Pope Virgilius to Profuturus, and the treaty *De trina mersione* by Martin of Braga—tell us about the first appearance in Hispania of the problem of triple immersion versus simple immersion in the baptismal rite and the reestablishment of the Roman tradition in the baptismal liturgy in the western part of the peninsula.⁶⁴ The basilica of La Cocosa (Badajoz) is also of clearly North African influence.⁶⁵ Both belonged to manorial residences probably later transformed into monastic communities.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ It is difficult to obtain a clear overview because we still lack a global inventory of the architectural pieces found in Lusitania.

⁶¹ M. Manuela Dias & Claudio Torres, "Cinco novos epitáfios paleocristãos de Mértola," *Ficheiro Epigráfico* 35-39 (1984) 3-13.

⁶² S.P.M. Estácio da Veiga, *Memória das Antiguidades de Mértola observadas em 1877*. Lisboa, p. 91; Claudio Torres, (et al), *Basílica Paleocristã*. Mértola, 1993; M. Justino Maciel, "Vectores da arte paleocristã em Portugal nos contextos suévico e visigótico," pp. 480-481 and Santiago Macias, "A basílica paleocristã e as necrópoles paleocristã e islâmica de Mértola: Aspectos e problemas," *XXXIX Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, Ravenna, 6-12 April 1992, p. 406.

⁶³ Fernando de Almeida, "Torre de Palma (Portugal), a basílica paleocristã e visigótica," *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 45-47 (1972-1974) 103-112.

⁶⁴ "Ex epistola Vigilii Papae ad Profuturum Bracarensem," *PL* 69: 19-20. Consult also, U. Domínguez del Val, "Profuturo de Braga (siglo VI obispo)," *DHEE* 3 (1973) 2030; J.O. Bragança, "Carta do Papa Vigílio ao Arcebispo Profuturo de Braga," *Bracara Augusta* 21 (1967) 65-91. For *De trina mersione*, consult C.W. Barlow, *Martini Episcopi Bracarensis. opera omnia*. New Haven, 1950, pp. 256-258.

⁶⁵ Consult, for example J. de C. Serra Ráfols, *La villa romana de La Defensa de la Cocosa*. Badajoz, 1952; Referring to the African influence in the basilicas of La Cocosa and of Torre de Palma, Luís García Moreno, *Historia de España visigoda*, p. 376 underlines that "la influencia de las plantas basilicales africanas de tipo rectangular se reflejaría en la existencia de dos ábsides opuestos en los dos lados menores" and adds that "la precisa finalidad litúrgica sigue sin estar clara."

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*.

In order to complete this series of examples, which spread mainly through the meridional routes during the fifth and sixth centuries,⁶⁷ we should also mention the cross-shaped construction in a *uilla* adjoining the Guadiana, in Montinho das Laranjeiras (Alcoutim, Algarve).⁶⁸ The current reconstruction of the plan of this cross-shaped floor plan, leads us to believe that it might be one of the first testimonies to the expansion of the Ravennan construction models of a cross-shaped form, which had already entered Southern Lusitania in the fifth century, or later with the Byzantine occupation of the Algarve, and had flourished in the Hispanic North during the seventh century. It is worthwhile mentioning the church of Montinho das Laranjeiras, because of the hypothesis elaborated about its significant role in spreading the cross-shaped model throughout the Central-Southern portions of the Iberian peninsula, mainly through contacts with the Byzantines and the Visigothic kingdom of Toledo.⁶⁹ It also reinforces the idea of an artistic Ravennan-Byzantine influence in Southern Lusitania, namely in Mértola and Beja, already suggested by the characteristics of the liturgical decoration.

*The Theological and Literary Culture:
Apringius of Beja and the School of Mérida*

In the theological and literary panorama of Lusitania, during the first half of the sixth century, Apringius, bishop of Beja, distinguished himself by being a *disertus lingua et scientia eruditus*, according to Isidore

⁶⁷ Luís Caballero Zoreda, "Visigodo o asturiano? Nuevos hallazgos en Mérida y otros datos para un nuevo 'marco de referencia' de la arquitectura y la escultura altomedieval en el norte y oeste de la península ibérica," *XXXIX Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, Ravenna, 6-12 April 1992, pp. 139-190. On the chronology of some buildings, as well as of some of their decorative elements, see M. Justino Maciel, "Vectores da arte paleocristã em Portugal nos contextos suévico e visigótico," *XXXIX Corso di cultura*, p. 487.

⁶⁸ M. Justino Maciel, "Vectores da arte paleocristã em Portugal nos contextos suévico e visigótico," *XXXIX Corso di cultura*, p. 486; Th. Hauschild, "Arte Visigótica," *História da Arte em Portugal*. I, Lisboa, 1986, p. 165: considered it as a cross-shaped church with a rectangular apse, similar to cross-shaped churches of the peninsular North, namely the ones of Santa Comba de Bande and San Pedro de la Nave, which could have belonged to a convent.

⁶⁹ M. Justino Maciel, *Antiguidade tardia e paleocristianismo em Portugal*. Lisboa, 1996, pp. 98-99.

of Seville.⁷⁰ From his name we cannot infer his origins, although A.C. Vega put forward the hypothesis that he might belong to one of the Greek colonial families which settled in Lusitania during the Late Roman era.⁷¹

The exegetical work of Apringius shows that the literary tradition survived in Lusitania up to the Germanic invasion of 409 and is both witness to the religious and cultural vitality of the Church of Beja. His *Tractatus in apocalypsin*, written during at the time of the Visigothic King Theudis (531-548), is a commentary on the book of Revelation based essentially upon the writings of the Church Fathers: Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, Prudentius and Jerome.⁷² In the exordium of this treatise, Apringius of Beja shows an optimistic and Christ-centered vision of history, which appears frequently in the works of Iberian writers, such as the work of Paulus Orosius.⁷³ This work also tried to refute certain Jewish proposals of a messianic and apocalyptic nature that circulated in Mediterranean areas. At this point we should mention the existence of Jewish ghettos in the valley of the river Tagus and in the area of Beja during the sixth and seventh centuries.

In addition to its exegetic importance, the text of bishop Apringius is also important because of the way he analyzes words, expressions and symbols, thus contributing to our understanding of the world-view held by believers in western Lusitania. The reflection he makes about the Greek letters Alpha and Omega (Christ as the beginning and the end of history) based on Apoc. 1, 8, allows us to know which ideological interpretation was made in the *Conuentus Pacensis* about the meaning of these letters and their association with the "peristera"

⁷⁰ Isidore of Seville, *De Viris illustribus* XVII. (ed.) Carmen Cordoñer Merino. p. 143. See also J. Perez de Urbel, "Las letras en la España visigoda," *Historia de España*. (ed.) R. Menéndez Pidal. *España Visigoda*. III, Madrid, 1940, pp. 379-431.

⁷¹ Apringius of Beja, *Incipit tractatus in Apocalypsin*, p. IX.

⁷² A section of this work, already scarce in Antiquity, is in a codex preserved at the University of Copenhagen. It is possible to reconstruct these texts today thanks to the paragraphs transcribed by Beatus of Liébana in his commentary. For the manuscripts, see Apringius of Beja, *Incipit tractatus in Apocalypsin*, p. XV also Avelino Jesus da Costa, "Subsídios bibliográficos para uma patrologia portuguesa," *Theologica* 1 (1954) 72.

⁷³ Apringius of Beja, *Incipit tractatus in Apocalypsin*, XIX, 15-16, pp. 54-55; XX, 2, p. 58. For Orosius or "optimistic vision," see G. Fink, *Paulo Orose et sa conception d'histoire*. Marseille, 1951.

dove, in the second quarter of the sixth century.⁷⁴ Also important is the ideological context supplied by Apringius of some traditional victory symbols characteristic of the Roman world and adopted by Christianity in the art, such as the palm and the laurel wreath.⁷⁵

Lusitania's religious culture was also expressed through monastic education. But what exactly do we know about the state of pedagogy in Visigothic Lusitania? The previously mentioned *Vitae Sanctorum Patrum Emeritensium* starts with a description of a *domus ecclesiae*, during the second half of the sixth century, in which the church in Mérida, flourished with the clergy.⁷⁶ Through this narrative we can learn not only about the daily life of these young men, the future clergymen of Mérida's Church, but also about the structure and kind of teaching that was given.

The author of the *Vitae* relates that a boy named Augustus lived in *domo egregiae virginis Eulaliae*, together with other companions of the same age, under the tutelage and guidance of a venerable illustrious man called *preposito* or *abbas*.⁷⁷ This term, as well as other expressions, employed in the *Vitae Sanctorum Patrum Emeritensium* lead some authors to think it was a monastic school.⁷⁸ However, our scant information does not allow us to confirm this conclusion: it could either be a church in which an episcopal school was established, or a monastery with a specific adjacent school. It is difficult to ascertain either of these alternative possibilities.⁷⁹ What is certain, is that bishops and

⁷⁴ The symbol of the dove that represented the divinity of Jesus Christ revealed in his baptism in the river Jordan sometimes substituted the artistic representation of the letters alpha and omega of the Greek alphabet. See, Hübner, *Inscriptiones Hispaniae christianae*, Berlin, 1871, n°35: This engraved stone of Mérida shows a wreath containing a funerary inscription from 516 over which can be seen a "crismom" between two doves. They represent the consubstantiality of the Word and the Spirit in the essential unity of the Trinity. Consult, for example Apringius of Beja, *Incipit tractatus in Apocalypsin*, p. XIV and M. Justino Maciel, *Antiguidade tardia*, p. 64.

⁷⁵ Apringius of Beja, *Incipit tractatus in Apocalypsin*, III, 4, p. 26-27. Also M. Justino Maciel, "A arte da Antiguidade Tardia (séculos III-VIII, ano de 711)," *Historia da Arte*: Portuguesa. (dir. Paulo Perreira), I, Lisboa, 1995, p. 128.

⁷⁶ *VSPE* I, p. 6.

⁷⁷ *VSPE* I, p. 12.

⁷⁸ J. Pérez de Urbel, *Los monjes españoles en la Edad Media*. I, Madrid, 1945, pp. 260-267, 277-278.

⁷⁹ J. Fontaine, "Fins et moyens de l'enseignement ecclésiastique dans l'Espagne wisigothique," *Culture et spiritualité en Espagne du IV^e au VII^e siècles*, p. 176 and p. 200: "L'examen des textes non canoniques montre en fait, si l'on tente de préciser de l'intérieur les fins et les moyens de la pédagogie ecclésiastique, qu'il est encore bien difficile d'établir à cette époque des distinctions précises entre un régime monastique

other clergymen were trained in these schools to serve in the Church of Mérida. Canon 24 of the Fourth Council of Toledo (633) presumes, as a general rule, the existence of two distinct schools.⁸⁰ We can infer that they cooperated efficiently in the education of the clergy, even though it is clear that the monastic schools in seventh century Visigothic culture played a preponderant role through the transmission and selective filtering of the classical tradition.⁸¹

We can assume that the education given was identical to that given by the bishop Paul to his nephew Fidelis.⁸² It was based essentially on practicing the ecclesiastic service and on knowledge of the Bible. From the same we also learn that Renovatus of Mérida was trained to be highly learned in theology and well versed in religious duties.⁸³ The education of the Visigothic clergy, with a view to fulfilling their pastoral duties, was mainly directed at a better understanding of the Holy Writ.

The culture the clergy received was thus essentially ecclesiastic and was very similar to that stipulated in the Fourth Council of Toledo.⁸⁴ The teaching was intended to compensate for the disappearance of the schools of rhetoric in which the ancient imperial clerks were trained, although in this case the schools were exclusively, or almost

et un régime épiscopal des études. Ce qu'il est vrai de dire, c'est que les différences de niveau et d'exigences intellectuelles durent être nombreuses et considérables entre établissements, que ceux-ci aient été des évêchés ou des communautés monastiques."

⁸⁰ Vives, *Concilios visigóticos*, (Toledo, IV, canon 24), p. 202: "Qui autem his praeceptis resultaverint, monasteriis deputentur, ut vagantes animi et superbi severiori regula dstringantur."

⁸¹ Luís García Moreno, *Historia de España visigoda*, p. 370. See also Justo Fernández Alonso, *La cura pastoral en la España romanovisigoda*. Roma, 1955, p. 110; M. C. Díaz y Díaz, "La cultura en la España visigótica del s. VII," *De Isidoro al siglo XI. Ocho estudios sobre la vida literaria peninsular*. Barcelona, 1976, p. 28; P. Riché, *Education et culture dans l'occident barbare (VIe-VIIIe siècles)*. Paris, 1962, p. 140.

⁸² *VSPE* V.IV, p. 33: "Tondere precepit ac Deo omnipotenti seruiturum obtulit et ueluti, alterum Samuelem in templo Domini diebus ac noctibus strenue erudiuit, ita ut infra paucorum curricula annorum omne officium ecclesiasticum omnemque bibliotecam scripturarum diuinarum perfectissime docuit."

⁸³ *VSPE* V.XIV, p. 100: "Multis nimirum artium disciplinis existerat eruditus multisque uirtutum uaris generibus adornatus. Erat enim egregius in omnibus operibus suis, equissimus, iustissimus uimiumque acris ingenii et in omnibus disciplinis ecclesiasticis uehementer instructus atque in diuinis uoluminibus perquam exercitatus."

⁸⁴ VIVES, *Concilios visigóticos* (Toledo, IV, canon XXIV), p.201. See *La Coleccion Canonica Hispana—V. Concilios Hispanos: segunda parte*. (ed.) Gonzalo Martínez Díez & Felix Rodríguez. Madrid, 1992, pp. 214-215.

exclusively, for the education of the clergy. They learned how to administer the sacraments, studied canon law, and liturgical singing which were still transmitted in a merely mnemonic way.⁸⁵ The schooling was directed just as much at the preparation for the exercise of the pastoral function and at biblical studies as at practical and theoretical studies.⁸⁶ It is worth noting the absence of the liberal arts.⁸⁷ Even though the sources say nothing about the presence or absence of an episcopal or monastic library in Mérida, necessary for the master's learning and for the pupil's instruction, we can presume its existence for the cultivation of literary erudition in Mérida. The anonymous author of the *Vitae Sanctorum Patrum Emeritensium*, when writing his work during the first half of the seventh century, used not only the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, the *Synonyma* of Isidore of Seville, Prudentius, Rufinus, Sulpicius Severus, and also hagiographic works such as the *Vita Desiderii* written by King Sisebut.⁸⁸

The desire to give a solid cultural background to the Catholic clergy may have been prompted by the frequent disputes with the Arian clergy.⁸⁹ In this way, the clergy wielded effective cultural power, and had an enormous influence on the laity. The bishops and clergy of Mérida thus had the prestige of being the holders of a superior culture. In this culture of a mainly ecclesiastic character, the degree of instruction of the clergy was an important issue. By the end of the sixth century, Licinianus of Cartagena wrote to Pope Gregory saying that he was engaged in a veritable crusade to raise the cultural level of the Catholic clergy.⁹⁰ And later, the Eighth Council of Toledo stipulated in 653, that every man who had taken the holy orders should take an exam before the bishop to show he knew by heart the

⁸⁵ Even if we lack a study about the use of memory in teaching, we know through some sources of the time that it held a fundamental role in the study of various texts.

⁸⁶ Pierre Riché, *Education et culture*, p. 332.

⁸⁷ This term was used to designate various subjects of a profane nature: grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music. The first three had the name *Trivium* and the others formed the *Quadrivium*. Consult, for example R.-M. Martin, "Arts liberaux (sept)," *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et Géographie Ecclésiastique*. IV, Paris, 1930, col. 827-843.

⁸⁸ J. N. Garvin, *The Vitae sanctorum Patrum Emeritensium*. Washington, 1946, pp. 30-31.

⁸⁹ For the confrontation between the Catholic bishop Masona and the Arian bishop Sunna, see *VSPE* V, p. 56 ss. Also M. C. Díaz y Díaz, "La cultura de la España visigótica del siglo VII," *De Isidoro al siglo XI*, p. 25.

⁹⁰ Licinianus of Cartagena, "Epistula I," *Liciano de Cartagena y sus cartas*. (ed.) J. Madoz. Madrid 1948, p. 87.

Psalter, the canticles, the hymns and the ritual so as to be able to oppose the enemies of faith.⁹¹

In the rural areas, the level of knowledge necessary to be ordained as a member of the clergy was given in modest parish schools, where the teacher was very likely the rector. The Sixth Council of Toledo in 638 exhorted the ecclesiastical freedmen to always remain subject to the patronage of the Church, to take their children to be educated in the church they had belonged to before as slaves.⁹² Some years later, the Council of Mérida in 666 stipulated that parish priests could educate and ordain their church's slaves so that the latter could assist them in church service. The Council of Mérida reflected an unusual situation which existed in Lusitania and which was sanctioned by written law.⁹³

The purpose of our study, as we said at the beginning, was to unveil some features of the relations between Church and culture in Suevic-Visigothic Lusitania. Even a quick review of the available literary and architectural sources is sufficient enough to show the complexity of this encounter, and discourage arbitrary simplifications. We are aware that many areas of this cultural encounter have not been addressed here in our brief analysis. What matters is that our overview points out the key influences at play in the intersection between the cultural and religious spheres in Lusitania.

We see that after the fifth century which was a period of crisis, there ensued a time, during the sixth century, where society was reorganized mainly by the church, reconstructed basilicas and was religiously and culturally stimulated. The overcoming of old difficulties—in particular Arian-Catholic tensions—helped to foster a degree of cultural renaissance during the seventh century. Prior to the Third Council of Toledo (589), we can say that we witness an “engaged” culture confronting the challenges of the Arian heresy.⁹⁴ In fact, from

⁹¹ Vives, *Concilios visigóticos*, (Toledo VIII, canon 8), pp. 281-282. See also José Orlandis, *Historia del reino visigodo español*, Madrid, 1988, p. 344.

⁹² Vives, *Concilios visigóticos*, (Toledo VI, canon 10), pp. 240-241. See also José Orlandis, *La vida en España en tiempo de los godos*, Madrid, 1991, p. 71.

⁹³ Vives, *Concilios visigóticos*, (Mérida 666, canon 18), p. 338: “de ecclesiae suae familia clericos sibi faciant, quos per bonam voluntatem ita nutrant, ut officium sanctum digni peragant, et ad servitium suum aptos eos habeant.” See Vives, *Concilios visigóticos*, (Toledo IV, canon 74), pp. 216-217; (Toledo IX, canon 11), p. 303. See also José Orlandis & Domingo Ramos-Lissón, *Historia de los concilios de la España Romana y visigoda*. Pamplona, 1986, pp. 376-377.

⁹⁴ Pierre Riché, *Education et culture*, p. 320.

the fifth century on, and given the previous theological and cultural controversies, an important facet of Lusitanian culture was the apologetic, which was present in the work and action of Apringius of Beja and was expressed, in a unique way, in the dispute between Arians and Catholics in Mérida. It was urgent to defend the Catholic dogma at any cost!

After the triumph of Catholicism, Mérida began to suffer an eclipse as the cultural focus shifted to inland Hispania, namely to Toledo, the capital of the unified Visigothic kingdom. In general, Lusitania gradually lost its cultural vitality, playing at the same time a more passive role in the political and economic life of the kingdom.

In its encounter with culture, the Church did not escape from the challenges of that age. If we look carefully, we can observe a cultural synthesis in which the classic values and Hispano-Roman tradition were integrated and enriched by the cultural heritage of the Visigoths, through a process of coexistence in which the role of the individuals, with their prestige, power and ascendancy, cannot be minimized. In this context of important changes that were related to the transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, the settling of the Sueves and the Visigoths in Lusitania, and the further organization of their kingdoms, did not seem to involve a sudden and deep rupture with the cultural characteristics dominant since the Late Empire. Indeed, the links with the Roman administration, customs, language, remained, which suggests the permanency of previous models of civilization.

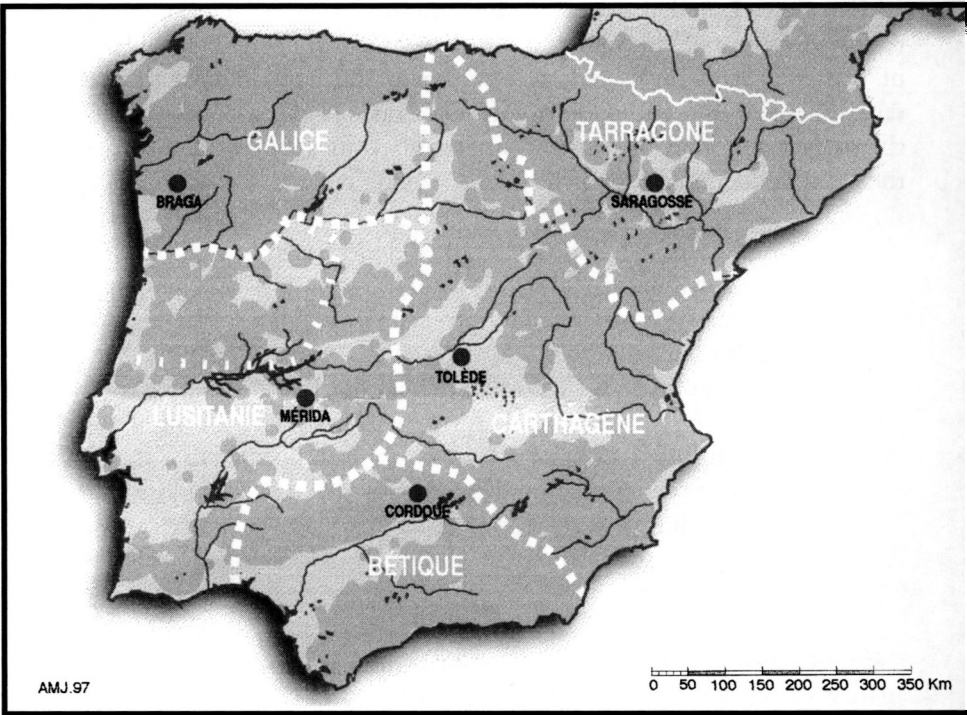
However, the written and archeological sources, while providing incomplete information, show some isolated changes in architectural materials, civilization and art which took place in several cultural centers of Lusitania such as Beja, Mértola and Mérida. The Lusitanian culture thus appears to be an essentially ecclesiastic culture, in which the predominant role is played by the clergy generally, and in particular by the bishops.⁹⁵




We should emphasize Lusitania's relations with the outside world, in which the Arian question was the dominant fulcrum and Mediterranean life the main channel of communication. Suevic and Visigothic Lusitania also accepted coexistence with Byzantine, Jewish and North African communities. It was in daily life that the cultural and artistic changes occurred, through trade relations and the com-

⁹⁵ Cf. José Orlandis, *Historia de españa: Epoca visigoda (409-477)*, p. 190.

ing and going of travelers, the soldiers, and public officers as they traveled across the Mediterranean.

The period analyzed also shows another aspect of cultural life, distinct from the literary life but clearly testified to in the biographies of certain venerable illustrious clergymen: the contribution to the enrichment of the city made by Mérida's bishops, who distinguished themselves not only by their numerous writings but also through their public works.



-  Northern limits of Lusitania during the Suevic occupation up to 650
-  Provincial limits during the Visigothic period
-  Major city

CHAPTER FOUR

CATHOLIC ANTI-JUDAISM IN VISIGOTHIC SPAIN

Raúl González-Salineró

The historiographic cliché which appeared in the nineteenth century,¹ according to which the Jews enjoyed tolerance and even harmony during the reign of the Visigothic Arian monarchs, and that it was only from the reign of Reccared onward that the persecution against the Jews started abruptly, has normally gone unquestioned.² However, in Alaric's *Breviarium* we find no indication of the existence of special tolerance to the Jews, despite the reduction of some anti-Jewish laws which came from Theodosius's Code. Rather, their existence was allowed as was that of the Catholics and were never seen to be treated especially favorably.³ It is well known that during the Arian era in Iberia there was discrimination against Jews, not against their religious rights but against their civil rights and social relationships.⁴ This unfavorable situation for the Jews undoubtedly became worse with Reccared, who was the first Visigothic king converted to Catholicism (589). However, it cannot be asserted that his measures constituted a deviation from the repressive policy against the Jews, since his ideological assumptions were not far removed from the line followed by the Arian monarchs; this would not occur until Sisebut

¹ A. de Castro, *Historia de los judíos en España*. Cádiz, 1847, p. 25; B. Lazare, *El antisemitismo, su historia y sus causas*. (transl.) M. E. Meijide Vecino. Madrid, 1986 (first publication in Paris, 1894), p. 73.

² Vid. L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos en la España antigua*. Madrid, 1978, pp. 103-104; T. González, "Los judíos en la España visigoda," *Studium XXII* 3 (1982) 547.

³ See A. M. Rabello, "Gli Ebrei nella Spagna romana e ariana-visigotica," *Atti dell'Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana. Vol. IV in onore di Marco De Dominicis*. Perugia, 1981, pp. 820 ff.; J. Isaac, *Genèse de l'antisémitisme. Essai historique*. Paris, 1956, p. 238, n. 1.

⁴ After the promulgation of *Breviarium* and the end of the Arian era, the situation does not seem to have changed, since at this time no previous law existed that mentioned the Jews. On this topic, vid. A. M. Jiménez Garnica, "Los judíos en el reino de Tolosa entre la tolerancia y el proselitismo arriano," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma (Serie II). Historia Antigua* 6 (1993) 580-583; *IDEM*, "La coexistencia con los judíos en el reino de Tolosa," *Gerión* 12 (1994) 276-278.

compelled them to forced baptism (616) which was the moment when the authentic intention to persecute and the determination to eradicate Judaism began to develop.⁵

Despite the fact that the law regarding the ancient prohibition for Jews to own Christian slaves and the canons of the Third Council of Toledo against mixed marriages and against Jews occupying public office (*infra*), published under Reccared, were not in the least the most hostile known by the Jews in Visigothic Spain, it cannot be affirmed that they were treated favorably.⁶ During the reign of this Catholic monarch their legal situation became considerably more difficult. Indeed, if before they were considered Roman citizens, now, with the desire for a unified reign, they would be seen as a disintegrating element, on the margins of Christian society.⁷ Apart from their rigorous application, these measures produced “a deep psychological influence on the Christian believers and unusual attempts by Jews to try to reduce their reach”.⁸

Hostility against the Jews was always present in Catholic society during the Visigothic monarchy, even among the kings who paid no attention to the Jewish problem. The Church and particularly the ecclesiastic intellectuals continued to refer to the “perfidious” Jews and that is why we must take it into account when studying a topic such as this. For their part, the attitude of kings like Sisebut (612-621), Sisenand (631-636), Recceswinth (649-672), Erwig (680-687) or Egica (687-702), as well as that of the Toledan Councils III (589), IV (633), VI (838), VIII (653), X (656), XII (681), XVI (693) and XVII (694) of Toledo,⁹ which were determinant in creating an atmosphere

⁵ L.A. García Moreno, *Los judíos de la España antigua. Del primer encuentro al primer repudio*. Madrid, 1993, pp. 143 and 146; J. Orlandis, “Hacia una mejor comprensión del problema judío en el reino visigodo-católico del España,” *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, XXVI. Gli ebrei nell'Alto Medioevo (1978)*. Spoleto, 1980. p. 156.

⁶ Asserted by B.S. Bachrach, *Early Jewish Policy in Western Europe*. Minneapolis, 1977, p. 6.

⁷ A.M. Rabello, “La conversione di Recaredo al cattolicesimo (587) e le sue ripercussioni sulla condizione giuridica degli Ebrei,” *Index 12* (1983-1984) 382.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 380.

⁹ The bibliography concerned with the chronological study of the Jewish problem in Visigothic Spain is abundant. See, for example, J. Juster, *La condition légale des juifs sous les rois visigoths*. Paris, 1912 (extrait des *Études d'histoire juridique offertes à P. F. Girard*), pp. 4 (278)-24 (298); J. Isaac, *Genèse*, pp. 240-248; J. Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue. A Study in the Origins of Antisemitism*. New York, 1974 (= London, 1934), pp. 353-369; R. Hernández, “La España visigoda frente al problema de los

of social-aggression and hate towards the Jews in Visigothic Spain.¹⁰

The civil and ecclesiastic anti-Jewish punishments, although they changed according to monarchs and circumstances, in general were really very bloody during the seventh century.¹¹ That is why it is amazing that today, even recently, it has been asserted, without reservations, that from that century in Spain there was a respect towards other religious confessions such as that of the Jews.¹² In the following pages, after having examined topic by topic the measures and the actions of the anti-Jewish policies of the Visigoths, it will become clear how this view is misguided.

1. *The Church and the Monarchy on the subject of Jews*

In the debate on the reasons for the anti-Jewish persecution in the Visigothic era different theories have appeared, some of which have already been rejected. It seems wise to deny the possibility of socio-economic causes which have been pointed out by some authors,¹³ because the Jews did not represent a group outside of society, except in their beliefs, nor did the majority of them enjoy an economic superiority through trade.¹⁴ In fact, the Jews were often well accepted

judíos," *La Ciencia Tomista* XCIV (n° 301) (1967) 627-685; E. L. Abel, *The Roots of Anti-Semitism*. New Jersey, 1975, pp. 206-224; J. GIL, "Judíos y cristianos en la Hispania del siglo VII," *Hispania Sacra* XXX (1977) 37 ff.; L. García Iglesias, *Los Judíos*, pp. 103-133; T. González, "Los Judíos," pp. 521-547; J. Orlandis, *La vida en España en tiempo de los godos*. Madrid, 1991, pp. 125-134; J. Blázquez Miguel, *Toledot. Historia del Toledo judío*. Toledo, 1989, pp. 27-30; L.A. García Moreno, *Los Judíos*, pp. 115-167; *IDEM*, "La legislación antijudía del reino visigodo de Toledo. Un ensayo sociopolítico," *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 42/2 (1993) 40-47.

¹⁰ Although Septimania had certain peculiarities, its Jewish communities suffered in the entire fourth century the same unfavorable situation as the rest of the Jews in the Visigothic kingdom. *Vid.* J. Parkes, *The Conflict*, pp. 354-355. For the Jews of Septimania at this time, *vid.* E. Demougeot, "La Septimanie dans le royaume wisigothique, de la fin du Ve s. a la fin du VIIe s.," in E. Demougeot, *L'Empire romain et les barbares d'occident (IVe-VIIe siècle)*. Scripta varia. Paris, 1988, pp. 389-394.

¹¹ *Vid.* P.D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom*. Cambridge, 1972, p. 131; L. García Iglesias, "Castigos corporales a judíos y judaizantes en la legislación visigoda," *El Olivo* 10 (1979) 90.

¹² D. Borobio, "Iniciación cristiana en la Iglesia hispana de los siglos VI al X," *Salmanticensis* XLII (1995) 31.

¹³ S. Katz, *The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul*. Cambridge (Massachusetts), 1937, p. 12; J. A. García de Cortázar, *La época medieval*. ('Historia de España' dirigida por M. Artola). Madrid, 1988, p. 36.

¹⁴ L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, p. 184.

by the Christian population, and from this stemmed the danger of Judaization,¹⁵ because, in many cases, the Jews' avoidance of many of the measures would not have been possible without a population lacking in animosity towards them.¹⁶ It seems that in this aspect the Visigothic kings had no profit motive in mind since from Reccared's reign on, financial sanctions were only for law breakers and there is no record that they had promoted an increase in Jewish resistance to the law.¹⁷ Also, it was expected that the Jews would enjoy the same privilege as Christians once they had converted to Christianity and, therefore, if the motivation had been economic, the possibility of this conversion would not have been allowed, nor would it have been forced on them.¹⁸ On the other hand, the political theory of B. S. Bachrach,¹⁹ according to which the attitude of every monarch towards the Jews depended on the support given them by the Jews at the moment they ascended to the throne, does not seem to be fulfilled in the case of the kings Recceswinth, Wamba or Witiza.²⁰ On the contrary, the main reason for the anti-Judaism revealed by the sources has its origin in strictly religious disagreement and rivalry (disproving Jewish religious doctrine and fighting against Jewish religious traditions, a true antagonism on the part of Catholic Christianity, in order to avoid Judaization),²¹ together with the desire of Church and Crown to achieve a real religious unity, in which the Jews would constitute a distorting element.²²

Evidently, Visigothic anti-Judaism was the consequence of the union between State and Church. Kings and bishops joined forces in

¹⁵ B. Blumenkranz, *Juifs et Chrétiens dans le monde occidental*. Paris-La Haye, 1960, p. 138.

¹⁶ P.D. King, *Law and Society*, p. 138.

¹⁷ L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, pp. 184-187.

¹⁸ J. Parkes, *The Conflict*, pp. 369-370.

¹⁹ B.S. Bachrach, *Early Jewish policy*, pp. 9 ff.

²⁰ L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, p. 190.

²¹ This is the way it appears, for example, in the *tomus* of the seventeenth Council of Toledo (edition of J. Vives; T. Marín Martínez; G. Martínez Diez, *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*. Barcelona-Madrid, 1963) and in *Leges Visigothorum* (from now on, *Leg. Visig.*), XII, 3, 2; XII, 3, 5 (edition of K. Zeumer in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Legum sectio I. Leges Nationum Germanicarum (I): Leges Visigothorum*. Hannoverae et Lipsiae, 1902). *Vid.* P. D. King, *Law and Society*, p. 132.

²² *Vid.* J. Parkes, *The Conflict*, p. 370; L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, pp. 191-198; *IDEM*, "Motivaciones de la política antijudía del reino visigodo en el siglo VII," in *Memorias de Historia antigua I: Estructuras sociales durante la Antigüedad* (1977). Oviedo, 1978, pp. 263-264; D. Romano, "Judíos hispánicos en los siglos IV-IX," in *De la Antigüedad al Medioevo (Siglos IV-VIII)*. III Congreso de Estudios Medievales (León). Madrid, 1993, p. 260.

order to eradicate the problem of Judaism through very close collaboration.²³ If Sisebut did not manage to express his measures through a Council it was because the Church still did not have a channel of participation (the national Councils did not begin until the Fourth Council of Toledo, during Sisenand's reign) and the king could not use this instrument. In any case, however, the Church did not oppose these anti-Jewish arrangements.²⁴ Furthermore, in the episode involving bishop Aurasius and Froga, perhaps *comes* of Toledo,²⁵ it can be seen that the Church did not wash its hands of the Jewish problem at this time: the head of the synagogue (Archisynagogus), Leví Samuel, accused the bishop of having used force and deceit to obtain conversions to Catholicism, at the same time that Aurasius accused Froga of being a Judaizer and protector of Jews against the interests and prestige of the Church for having instigated the aggression to which recently converted Jews were subjected by the bishop, and for his intention to favor the building of a synagogue.²⁶ For its part, all of Sisenand's legislation was channeled through the Fourth Council of Toledo, whose dispositions were law. The Sixth Council of Toledo congratulated king Chintila for his tough anti-Jewish policy, approved by bishop Braulio of Zaragoza and every bishop attending.²⁷ Recceswinth's legislation on this subject was approved by the Eighth Council of Toledo and the Twelfth Council of Toledo approved and completely subscribed Erwig's civil laws.²⁸ Likewise, the attitude of the ecclesiastic and royal authorities concerning the severity of the punishments imposed on the Jews was not very different.²⁹

Side by side with certain authors who were favorable to the kings and who tried to exalt their virtues, there also existed a kind of literature concerned with religious education under the aegis of a unified and Christian monarchy. In this sense, famous writers main-

²³ Vid. S. Katz, *The Jews*, p. 11; B. Blumenkranz, *Juifs*, p. 106; S. Grayzel, "The Beginnings of Exclusion," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* LXI (1970) 23; T. González, "Los Judíos," p. 524; L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, p. 137; L.A. García Moreno, *Los Judíos*, p. 115.

²⁴ L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, p. 136.

²⁵ J. Blázquez Miguel, *Toledot*, p. 28.

²⁶ L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, pp. 109-110 and 137.

²⁷ A. Riesco Terrero, "El problema judío en la mente de tres importantes personajes del siglo VII: un papa, un obispo español y un rey visigodo," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma (Serie II). Historia antigua* 6 (1993) 600.

²⁸ L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, pp. 138-139.

²⁹ L. García Iglesias, "Castigos corporales," p. 90.

tained close relationships and even collaborated with certain kings who were clearly anti-Jewish. Such were the cases of, for example, Braulio of Zaragoza and Ildephonsus of Toledo with Recceswinth³⁰ and Julian of Toledo with Erwig.³¹

It is therefore evident that the Jews hindered identification between *regnum* and *ecclesia*³² and broke the principles of religious unity through which clergy and kings wished to assure the control of an entirely Christian society.³³ Now then, according to all indications, it seems that the Church was the main supporter of these anti-Jewish measures, although we must always keep in mind that the king (influenced by the bishops' suggestions) was obliged, by the very theocratic nature of monarchy, to defend the interests of the Catholic religion.³⁴ Likewise, we must not forget that the kings who ascended to the throne without the support of the clergy carried out their own anti-Jewish legislation and simply used the laws already in existence.³⁵

In the actual writings of the Visigothic Fathers we can find specific references to the desire for a totally Christian society without the presence of unfaithful Jews. In Isidore of Seville's definition of the groups which make up a society in which the faithful of the Church constitute an indivisible unity (clergymen, monks and laymen or "commomers") there is no place for the Jews.³⁶ And Julian of Toledo, following Erwig's performance, thought that the Judaism "had to be cut off, since it was like the cancerous part of the body, before this harmful disease could be passed on to the healthy parts."³⁷

It seems evident, then, that the Visigothic anti-Judaism of the Catholic age was inspired by anti-Jewish ideas emanating from the

³⁰ T. González, "Los Judíos," p. 533; B. S. Bachrach, *Early Jewish policy*, p. 20.

³¹ L.A. García Moreno, *Los Judíos*, p. 121.

³² Councils VI Toledo, c. 3 and VIII Toledo, c. 12.

³³ P.D. King, *Law and Society*, p. 132.

³⁴ J. Isaac, *Genèse*, p. 239; J. Parkes, *The Conflict*, p. 348; L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, pp. 193-194.

³⁵ J. Parkes, *The Jew in the Medieval Community*. London, 1938, p. 14.

³⁶ Vid. Isidore of Seville, *Liber de Variis Quaestionibus adversus Iudaeos* (hereafter, *Liber*) 55, 5-13 (edition of P.A.C. Vega; A.E. Anspach, *S. Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi. Liber de Variis Quaestionibus adversus Iudaeos seu ceteros infideles vel plerosque haereticos iudaizantes ex utroque Testamento collectus*. El Escorial, 1940).

³⁷ Julian of Toledo, *De comprobatione sextae aetatis libri tres* (in forward, *De comprobatione*), incipit praefatio, 5-7: [...] *purulentas primum radices amputare putredines, antequam sanas ulcus noxium inficiat partes* [...], (edition of J. N. Hillgarth en *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina CXV. Sancti Iuliani Toletanae Sedis Episcopi Opera pars I*. Turnholti, 1976, pp. 142 ff.).

Church hierarchy, ideas that permitted the development of anti-Jewish legislation, which in turn was the direct result of close collaboration between Church and State. In this way, control over a completely Christian society, without the distorting element of Judaism, would establish the foundation for the identification between *regnum* and *ecclesia*.

2. *The Policy of Social Exclusion*

Throughout the seventh century, the Jewish communities suffered from a process of social exclusion carried out gradually by means of a progressive reduction of their civil rights. The right of association, so important in any religious community, is not accepted in the Catholic period from the time when baptism became obligatory for every subject of the kingdom.³⁸ It could likewise be asserted that after the abrogation of the *Breviarium* by Recceswinth in 654, the Jews probably no longer enjoyed the civil *status* they had had when their religion was *licita*.³⁹

Civil and ecclesiastic laws aspired to separate the Jew from the social framework by taking him away from the functions which could be performed by every subject who was loyal to Christianity. The Fourth Council of Toledo (633) forbade from testifying in a trial those Jews who, after having been baptized, had returned to Judaism (apostates), a ban which remained in effect even if they returned to Christianity later on, because it was assumed that as they had been suspect under Christ's faith, they would not be credible witnesses.⁴⁰ Afterwards, Recceswinth decreed that Jews could not accuse Christians nor testify against them even though they were slaves, except for second generation converted Jews who were proved to be moral.⁴¹

In order to exclude the Jews from every organ of power, in the Third Council of Toledo they had already been forbidden to practice any job or public responsibility which could be used against Christians,⁴² since it was assumed that the occupation of any public office

³⁸ J. Juster, *La condition*, p. 27 (301).

³⁹ S. Katz, *The Jews*, p. 83.

⁴⁰ IV Toledo, c. 64. *Vid.* S. Katz, *The Jews*, p. 110.

⁴¹ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 2, 9-10. *Vid.* L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, p. 119; L.A. García Moreno, *Los Judíos*, pp. 157-158.

⁴² III Toledo, c. 14.

involved a certain control over them.⁴³ In fact, Erwig ordained that none of the Jews were allowed to have authority over a Christian, nor could they be designated as overlords of a Christian property.⁴⁴ If these laws were not obeyed the Jew received a punishment consisting of a hundred lashes and the confiscation of half of the Jew's possessions which were transferred to the king, as well as some punitive measures for the clergyman or monk who allowed this kind of act.⁴⁵ And Sisenand, through the Fourth Council of Toledo, insisted on removing all the Jews from public office under penalty of whipping for the Jew and excommunication for the sacrilegious magistrate who permitted it.⁴⁶

The imposition of certain fiscal obligations intensified social discrimination against the Jewish communities. It is not known when they were first obliged to pay special taxes to the State. King Erwig, given to maintaining the same measures for both non-baptized Jews and for converts, forced both groups to pay a poll tax.⁴⁷ At first, Egica exempted the baptized Jews from paying this special tax,⁴⁸ but, taking as a pretext a supposed Jewish conspiracy against his reign, he reduced the Jews to slaves and obliged the converts to pay the tax again.⁴⁹

Evidently, all these measures of social segregation could not be applied consistently unless a total separation between Jews and Christians was first established.⁵⁰ Thus, in the first Catholic dispositions, the Breviary's ban on mixed marriages between Jews and Christians was reasserted.⁵¹ Through civil legislation, Recceswinth and Erwig

⁴³ P.D. King, *Law and Society*, p. 136.

⁴⁴ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 3, 17.

⁴⁵ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 3, 19.

⁴⁶ IV Toledo, c. 65. Recceswinth confirmed it in the Eighth Council of Toledo and Erwig increased the punishment against Jews and guilty converted Jews with the confiscation of their possessions and a hundred lashes (*Leg. Visig.*, XII, 3, 17). *Vid.* J. Juster, *La condition*, p. 57 (331); S. Katz, *The Jews*, p. 118; L.A. García Moreno, *Los Judíos*, p. 144.

⁴⁷ J. Juster, *La condition*, p. 59 (333).

⁴⁸ Toledo XVI, *tomus* and c. 1.

⁴⁹ Toledo XVII, c. 8. *Vid.* J. Juster, *La condition*, p. 60 (334); P.D. King, *Law and Society*, p. 71, n. 2.

⁵⁰ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 2, 14: *Universis populis ad regni nostri provincias pertinentibus salutifera remedia nobis gentique nostre conquirimus, cum fidei nostre coniunctos de infidorum manibus clementer eripimus [...]*. ("Then we seek healthy recourses for ourselves, for all the people of our kingdom and for our nation when we protect God's faithful from the hands of those who are not faithful [...]").

⁵¹ C. 14 of the III Council of Toledo forbids Jews to have a Christian wife or concubine.

insisted that marriages could only be celebrated between Christians (depending on the degree of kinship) and according to Christian customs.⁵² In the ecclesiastic canons it was established that the non-Christian partner must be baptized and the children should be educated as Christians.⁵³

At the same time, bishops such as Braulio of Zaragoza were interested in severing the relationships between Jews and Christians. That is the reason why the *Confessio* which he is supposed to have written for the Sixth Council of Toledo, to be sworn by the Jews of Toledo, demanded that there be no communication with nor acceptance of marriage to Jews who were not baptized.⁵⁴

It can therefore be seen that the attitude of the clergy and the anti-Jewish legislation of the time were aimed at shaping the ideological and juridical framework of what was evidently a policy of social exclusion of the Jews. On the one hand, their civil rights were considerably reduced: denial of the right of assembly; legal incapacitation for testifying at a trial and for bringing accusations against Christians; disqualification from occupying public office; fiscal discrimination. On the other hand, an evident social segregation took place: the prohibition of mixed marriages was insisted upon and there was a breaking off of all types of Jewish-Christian relations.

3. *Religion of Perfidious and Unworthy Customs and Beliefs*

The spread of a broad anti-Jewish propaganda rekindled attitudes from Christian anti-Judaism of the third to fifth centuries which introduced feelings of animosity towards the Jewish religion and customs. Many of these anti-Jewish manifestations are reflected in both civil and ecclesiastical legislation. On the one hand, the Visigothic Fathers, indebted to the anti-Jewish controversy of the early Church Fathers constituted an inexhaustible source which was used in the legislation for the justification and disclosure of the anti-Jewish doctrinal attacks of Christian authors.⁵⁵

⁵² *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 2, 6 (Recceswinth), XII, 3, 8 (Erwig).

⁵³ IV Toledo, c. 63. *Vid.* J. Juster, *La condition*, p. 45 (319); S. Katz, *The Jews*, p. 89.

⁵⁴ Latin text in F. Fita y Colomé, *Suplementos al Concilio Nacional Toledano VI*. Madrid, 1881, pp. 43-49, esp. p. 47 (Spanish text, pp. 51-56).

⁵⁵ For the case of Isidore, for example, *vid.* B.-S. Albert, "*De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos*" d'Isidore de Séville: La polémique anti-judaïque dans l'Espagne du VIII

The attacks on the Jewish religion by Isidore, Ildephonsus, Julian and the rest of the Visigothic Fathers began with the rejection of Judaic law which was rendered no longer valid or superseded.⁵⁶ For Isidore, the carnal circumcision of the Jew was only an external sign which did not have the power of salvation.⁵⁷ Indeed, Christian baptism (spiritual circumcision) alone wiped out sin and offered eternal salvation.⁵⁸ This Christian view turned circumcision into something despicable and low and, while non-Jewish circumcised free men were punished in Arian times with exile and confiscation of their possessions, under Chindaswinth and his successors they were threatened with capital punishment.⁵⁹ Recceswinth forbade circumcision to all Jews, baptized or not, under the penalty of death by stoning or burning at the stake,⁶⁰ and Erwig discouraged it with confiscation of possessions and the amputation of the male organ.⁶¹ If the circumcised man was a slave he obtained his freedom, however, Recceswinth decreed that if a slave was Jewish he should be punished with death because it was presupposed that he had accepted circumcision.⁶² Likewise, in the Arian era, the people responsible for circumcision on a non-Jew, freeman or slave, and with his consent or not,

siècle," *Revue des Études Juives* CXLI (1982) 294 and 300. For anti-Jewish polemics in the patristic era see, J. Parkes, *The Conflict*, *passim*; A. Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Iudaeos. A Bird's-Eye View of Christian «Apologiae» until Renaissance*. Cambridge, 1935; M. Simon, *Verus Israel. A Study of the Relations between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire (AD 135-425)*. (transl.) H. McKeating, Oxford, 1986, pp. 135-178; L. H. Feldman, *Jew & Gentile in the Ancient World. Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian*. Princeton, 1993.

⁵⁶ Julian of Toledo, *Antikeimenon*, I, 31 (edition in *Patrologia Latina*, t. 96 of J.-P. Migne). *Vid.* B. Blumenkranz, *Les auteurs chrétiens latins du Moyen Âge sur les juifs et le judaïsme*. Paris-La Haye, 1963, pp. 97 and 127; R. Hernández, "El problema de los judíos en los PP. Visigodos," in *La Patrología Toledano-visigoda. XXVII semana española de Teología*. Madrid, 1970, p. 118.

⁵⁷ Isidore of Seville, *Liber*, 53, 2-3 and *De fide catholica ex veteri et novo testamento contra Iudaeos* (in forward, *De fide*), II, 16, 1-5 (edition in *Patrologia Latina*, t. 83, of J.-P. Migne, according to F. Arévalo).

⁵⁸ Isidore of Seville, *De fide*, II, 24, 1 and II, 24, 10. The baptism of heretics did not wipe out the sins either, because only that of the Church was valid: Isidore of Seville, *Liber*, 31, 10 and *Sententiarum libri tres*, I, 22, 1, in J. Campos and I. Roca, *Santos Padres españoles, II. Reglas monásticas de la España visigoda. Los tres libros de las «Sentencias»*. Madrid, 1971, pp. 226-525.

⁵⁹ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 2, 16. *Vid.* S. Katz, *The Jews*, p. 47; P.D. King, *Law and Society*, pp. 135 and 159.

⁶⁰ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 2, 7. *Vid.* J. Juster, *La condition*, p. 34 (308).

⁶¹ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 3, 4.

⁶² *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 2, 7. *Vid.* J. Juster, *La condition*, p. 35 (309); S. Katz, *The Jews*, p. 48.

were penalized with death or exile depending on their social status. In the Catholic period these dispositions were probably still valid although with Sisebut and Recceswinth the death penalty was potentially applied in all cases.⁶³ Under Erwig this punishment was replaced by mutilation of the male organ or the nose if the circumcision was performed by a woman.⁶⁴ With Reccared (and later endorsed by Recceswinth) the circumcised slave was free and the person responsible for the circumcision was dispossessed.⁶⁵

The attack on the Jewish observance of the Sabbath was merciless. They were accused of usurping the true nature of the Sabbath by commemorating it without a Christian spiritual sense, because it was assumed that the real Sabbath was that of the soul and that of the Jews was of the flesh only.⁶⁶ It was such an unpopular Jewish holiday that Isidore pounced upon it aggressively: "the idle festivity of the Jews (the Sabbath) is spent engaged in sexual desire, lust, drink, taking benefit from temporal life, serving the belly and physical love".⁶⁷ Continuing along this line, Isidore also denigrated the value of the rest of the beliefs, observances and Jewish holidays. His information is inaccurate and superficial, and he often makes mistakes about the exact meaning of the Jewish holidays, but he dared nevertheless to despise them.⁶⁸ This repulsion towards the Jewish holidays appears strikingly similar in the *Confessio vel professio Iudaeorum civitatis Toletanae*, which is presumed to be written by Braulio of Zaragoza.⁶⁹

All the apologetic objections towards the Sabbath and other Jewish festivities had the practical and legal goal to marginalize the Jews. The Catholic kings forbade the celebration of the Sabbath, the festivities of the Jewish Passover, the Tabernacles, the lunar festivities and others, under the same punishment suffered by those who refused to be baptized: a hundred lashes, exile and the confiscation of their possessions.⁷⁰ And though Erwig gave the Jews a year to abjure their religion, he did not permit the celebration of the Sabbath and

⁶³ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 2, 14.

⁶⁴ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 3, 4. *Vid.* P.D. King, *Law and Society*, pp. 134-136.

⁶⁵ *Vid.* J. Juster, *La condition*, p. 36 (310).

⁶⁶ Isidore of Seville, *Liber*, 31, 2-3; *De fide*, II, 15, 1-2.

⁶⁷ *De fide*, II, 15, 5: [...] *Judaeorum otiosa festivitas consumitur in luxuriis, et ebrietatibus, et comensationibus, deditis omnibus in libidine, et in fructum temporalis vitae, ventri venerique serviens.*

⁶⁸ B.-S. Albert, "*De fide*," pp. 294 and 300.

⁶⁹ *Vid.* F. Fita y Colomé, *Suplementos*, pp. 46-47. *Vid.* B. S. Bachrach, *Early Jewish policy*, p. 13.

⁷⁰ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 3, 5 (Erwig).

others festivities during this time, under pain of *decalvatio*,⁷¹ a hundred lashes, exile and confiscation of their possessions.⁷² On the other hand, the Jews were obliged to attend the Christian feast days as stipulated by canon 4 of the Council of Narbonne in 589 and even more so when Erwig forced the Jews to be baptized, on pain of a hundred lashes, confiscation of their possessions and exile.⁷³

In the same way, Isidore reprimanded carnal sacrifices and, above all, Jewish customs concerning food.⁷⁴ In his popular and influential work *De fide catholica contra Iudaeos*,⁷⁵ he expressed his aversion to Jewish eating customs and restrictions, by explaining that all they did was demonstrate the wickedness of the old ways and were contrary to the freedom offered by Christianity on these matters.⁷⁶ The legislation condemned these eating practices and only permitted converted Jews to abstain from pork because they considered it disgusting by nature.⁷⁷ Recceswinth upheld the same ban and imposed the death penalty (burning or stoning) on those who observed the Jewish precepts on food.⁷⁸ Erwig was even stricter because he only permitted the baptized Jews, whose orthodoxy was not in question, to abstain from pork.⁷⁹

We can, therefore, affirm that all the Jewish ceremonies and customs were forbidden, even during the reign of kings like Recceswinth

⁷¹ *Decalvatio* means to make bald, that is to shave the scalp. It was a degrading punishment introduced by Erwig among the Goths who had long hair *vid.* F.S. Lear, "The Public Law of the Visigothic Code," *Speculum* 26 (1951) 15. P.D. King believes it was not just a matter of shaving the head but rather cutting the scalp, *Law and Society*, p. 90, n. 5.

⁷² *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 3, 4; *cfr.* XII, 2, 5. *Vid.* P.D. King, *Law and Society*, p. 134; J. Juster, *La condition*, pp. 28 (302) and 30 (304); S. Katz, *The Jews*, p. 58; L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, p. 119; L.A. García Moreno, *Los Judíos*, p. 157.

⁷³ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 3, 6. *Vid.* S. Katz, *The Jews*, pp. 59-60.

⁷⁴ Every sacrifice must be spiritual but not carnal: Isidore, *De fide*, II, 17, 3; *Liber*, 29, 5-6.

⁷⁵ On the influence of this work during the Middle Age or even in Germany during the nineteenth century, *vid.* S. Katz, *The Jews*, p. 35; M.I G. Saibene, "La traduzione antico alto-tedesca del *De fide catholica contra Iudaeos* di Isidoro," *Il Confronto Letterario* 19 (1993) 67-86; S. Bodelón, *Literatura latina de la Edad Media en España*. Madrid, 1989, p. 34.

⁷⁶ *De fide*, II, 18, 2; 19; 28, 3. *Vid.* R. Hernández, "La España visigoda," pp. 679-680.

⁷⁷ *Cfr.* *Confessio vel professio iudaeorum civitatis Toletanae* (known also as the *placitum* of Chintila), in F. Fita y Colomé, *Suplementos*, p. 47; *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 2, 17 (*placitum* of Recceswinth of 654).

⁷⁸ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 2, 8. *Vid.* J. Juster, *La condition*, p. 31 (305).

⁷⁹ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 3, 7. *Vid.* S. Katz, *The Jews*, pp. 60-61.

who did not oblige the Jews to be baptized or to go into exile.⁸⁰ However, such importance was given to the matter that the punishment became very severe: death penalty by stoning and in the case of royal pardon, perpetual slavery and the confiscation of property.⁸¹ Undoubtedly, the efforts to eradicate these defining symbols of the Jewish faith laid the foundations for a conscious and declared discrimination that favored the attempt to establish one State religion, Christianity.

In this way, the scorn and insults emanating from the religious treatises written by bishops and Christian intellectuals may have affected unfavorably the opinion held by the people concerning this "rival religion." The polemic, no doubt, focused (as in the Early Christian era) on reproaching Jewish incredulity regarding Christianity, the central point of separation which Isidore refers to in his *De fide*: "The Jews, heartless, impious, skeptical about the ancient prophets and obstacles to the new ones, who deny Christ, God's son, with harmful incredulity, prefer to remain ignorant of the coming of Christ rather than to know Him, to deny Him rather than to believe in Him".⁸² Now then, this lack of belief shows the real intention of the Jewish people: they are awaiting the Antichrist, who descended from their family lineage.⁸³ Julian of Toledo asserted this belief when

⁸⁰ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 3, 4 (Erwig).

⁸¹ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 2, 5-9; XII, 2, 11. Erwig added the shaving of the head, exile and a hundred lashes to these punishments (*Leg. Visig.*, XII, 3, 1). On this, *vid.* J. Juster, *La condition*, pp. 25 (299)-26 (300).

⁸² *De fide*, I, 1, 1: *Judaei nefaria incredulitate Christum Dei Filium abnegantes, impij, duricordes, prophetis veteribus increduli, novis obstrusi, adventum Christi malunt ignorare, quam nosse; negare, quam credere [...]. Cfr. De fide*, II, 7. *Vid.* M. Simonetti, *La produzione letteraria latina fra romani e barbari (sec. V-VIII)*. Roma, 1986, p. 165; R. Hernández, "El problema," p. 119.

⁸³ Ildephonsus of Toledo, *De virginitate perpetua sanctae Mariae* (hereafter, *De virginitate*), IV, 400-402 (edition of V. Blanco García in *Santos Padres españoles, I. San Ildefonso de Toledo*. Madrid, 1971, pp. 43-154). In his *Epistula* XI, 13, Braulio of Zaragoza speaks of the *sinagoga Satane* (edition of L. Riesco Terrero, *Epistolario de San Braulio*. Sevilla, 1975) and in the *Confessio vel professio iudaeorum civitatis Toletanae* assures us that the Jews who do not accept Christianity are prisoners of Satan (ed. F. Fita y Colomé, *Suplementos*, p. 45). At the same time, Isidore of Seville thinks that at the time of the Antichrist, the Synagogue will join him to torment the Christians (*Sententiarum libri tres*, XXV, 6), and he even affirms (in his *Quaestiones, In librum Iudicum*, VI, 3) that the Antichrist himself was a Jew from birth: *Concubinam hoc in loco Synagogam vocat. Quae in novissimis temporibus Antichristo est creditura [...]* (edition in *Patrologia Latina*, t. 83, of J.-P. Migne, according to F. Arévalo, col. 386D and *cfr.* col. 387A). *Vid.* B. Blumenkranz, *Les auteurs*, p. 114; B.-S. Albert, "Isidore of Seville: His Attitude towards Judaism and His Impact on Early Medieval Canon Law," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* LXXX 3-4 (1990) 212.

he addressed the Jews pejoratively: “indeed, this is the same reason adduced by you, according to this, you say that Christ has not yet arrived, since it is evident that you are awaiting another one, surely the Antichrist”.⁸⁴

Often the Jews are associated by Christian polemicists on the same level as the heretics⁸⁵ and are the object of numerous insults.⁸⁶ Julian and Ildephonsus of Toledo accused them of falsehood and blasphemy.⁸⁷ And the latter felt that their wicked heart and unfaithful mind prevented them from believing in the Virgin and the Lord.⁸⁸ Also in comparison to the Church, which was presented as a coming together of faithful, rational people, the Synagogue is degraded when it is called an assembly of animals.⁸⁹ In the inaugural speech at the Twelfth Council of Toledo (680) an angry call was made to “nip the Judaic plague in the bud,” because the Jews were considered worse than unfaithful and arrogant sinners.⁹⁰

However, in the Visigothic period the accusation of *perfidia iudaica* refers not only to its theology, but also to its socio-political standing. Ildephonsus alleged that perfidy separated the Jew from the correct path.⁹¹ Isidore declared that every effort was needed to reject the *pernitiosa Iudaeorum perfidia*⁹² and the *Confessio vel professio iudaeorum civitatis Toletanae* insisted on the Jews’ recognition of their perfidy and prevarication.⁹³ Now, this concept of *perfidia iudaica* which appears in theological writings as a reproach to the *adversus iudaeos* Christian controversy, eventually acquired a specific political meaning, by attaching the inherent notion that the Jews were traitors to the Visi-

⁸⁴ *De comprobatione*, I, 16, 17-19: *Hanc ipsam enim agitis causam, qua dicitis necdum uenisse adhuc Christum, expectantes uidelicet alium, utique Antichristum [...]*.

⁸⁵ B. Blumenkranz, *Les auteurs*, p. 100.

⁸⁶ Isidore of Seville, *Liber*, 54, 4. In general, it can be affirmed that among the Iberian Church Fathers and ecclesiastics (Taio of Zaragoza, Quirichius of Barcelona, Idalius, Felix) there was little love for the Jews. *Vid.* B. Blumenkranz, *Les auteurs*, pp. 106, 118 and 127-128; B. S. Bachrach, *Early Jewish policy*, p. 21; L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, p. 146.

⁸⁷ Julian of Toledo, *De comprobatione*, III, 6; *Historia Wambae regis*, 5 (edition of W. Levinson, in *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina CXV*, cit., pp. 218 ff.); Ildephonsus of Toledo, *De virginitate*, III, 282-290.

⁸⁸ Ildephonsus of Toledo, *De virginitate*, IV, 359-397.

⁸⁹ Ildephonsus of Toledo, *Annotationum de cognitione baptismi*, 76 in, J. Campos, (ed.) *Santos Padres españoles, I. San Ildefonso de Toledo*, pp. 236-378.

⁹⁰ *Vid.* L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, p. 123.

⁹¹ *De virginitate*, III, 280. *Cfr.* A. Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Iudaeos*, p. 218.

⁹² *De fide*, I, 1, 2; I, 4, 12.

⁹³ F. Fita y Colomé, *Suplementos*, p. 43.

gothic monarchy. This meaning, which can be clearly observed in king Egica, was to last throughout the Middle Ages.⁹⁴ Indeed, Egica accused the Jews of having conspired against the Christian people together with other co-religionists from overseas and for this reason he requested some measures of punishment from the Council.⁹⁵ Thus, the bishops leveled the accusation of high treason and established the sentence of confiscation of wealth, perpetual slavery and the dispersion of their families throughout the kingdom.⁹⁶

To sum up, the widespread anti-Jewish literature of the Visigothic era gives a deplorable image of the Jewish religion. It is an image that is taken up and reflected in the legislation itself, both civil and canonical. Visigothic Fathers such as Isidorus, Ildefonsus and Julian devoted part of their writings to fighting against Jewish law, circumcision, the Sabbath, etc. and they constantly reproached Jewish disbelief, thus insuring their connection to the Antichrist. In this way a Christian intellectual trend was created, the central theme of which was the discrediting of the Jewish religion, and the meaning of the concept of *perfidia iudaica* (Jewish perfidy) thus became broadened. Now, not only was it an expression of moral and theological disdain, but it acquired as well a new political meaning in that Jews were now practically regarded as innate traitors regarding the Visigothic monarchy.

4. Attitudes and Actions against Jewish Proselytism

The main preoccupation of the Church was Jewish proselytizing and the accompanying Judaizing which was detected in Christian society.⁹⁷ To this effect, Pope Honorius I reprimanded the Iberian bish-

⁹⁴ Vid. A. M. Ginio, "El concepto de «perfidia iudaica» de la época visigoda en la perspectiva castellana del siglo XV," *Helmantica* XLVI (1995) 299 ff.

⁹⁵ The union of Visigothic Jews with other *haebrei transmarini* (a term which may apply to the Jews from the other side of the Mediterranean but not those from Morocco) to attempt a general uprising against the Christian faith was nothing more than an excuse to put an end to the problem, because at the end of the seventh century the possibility of Judaism being a political danger for the king was untenable of (on this vid. E. Gozalbes, "Los «Haebrei transmarini» del XVII concilio de Toledo (Año 694 d.J.C.)," *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas* XVII (1981) 242-244).

⁹⁶ XVII Toledo, c. 8. Vid. L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, pp. 131-132.

⁹⁷ Usually they insisted on separating Jewish celebrations from Christian ones. For example, the custom of assimilating the Jewish celebration of Passover was so wide-

ops for their “softness” with reference to the Jewish problem and called for more severe measures.⁹⁸ In answer, bishop Braulio, representing the Hispanic prelates, defended himself from the Pope’s accusation by making him see that, according to the traditions of the Hispanic Church, the dispositions which he sent to the Pope from the Fourth and Sixth Councils of Toledo were tough enough to eradicate the Jewish problem.⁹⁹

Indeed, Jewish proselytizing was a reality in Visigothic society and it obviously affected relationships with Gentiles through the active mission of humble Jews and also through the influence and the coercive pressure of personages of superior social status. Some Jewish *potentiores* did indeed exist¹⁰⁰ and this is reflected in a valuable hagiographic source dated from the seventh century, the *Passio Mantii*.¹⁰¹ Here we find the existence of Jews with *potestas*, owners of lands who use their powerful status to proselytize Jewish beliefs. The tale is a story about the Christian slave Mantius whose owners try to convert him to Judaism. But when he refused to acknowledge the Trinity (following the pattern of the Trinitarian profession in the Third Council of Toledo and repeated in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Councils of Toledo), he is cruelly punished with death (*passus est a iudeis*).¹⁰²

Undoubtedly, the conversions to Judaism increased the hostility of the Church and the methods used to fight against them.¹⁰³ The Iberian Fathers reflect in their writings a particular and obsessive interest in countering the influence of Jewish proselytizing.¹⁰⁴ Isidore

spread among the Christians that different warnings and legal dispositions forbade it specifically (Braulio of Zaragoza, *Epistula* XXII, 18-26; *Leg. Visig.* XII, 2, 5; X Toledo, 1). *Vid.* L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, p. 195.

⁹⁸ By means of a not very convincing argument, A. Riesco Terrero excuses the posture of Pope Honorius when he considers that this was due to anonymous rumors, political pressure, spiteful reports and the “excessive credulity and superficiality of the pontiff” (“El problema judío,” p. 603).

⁹⁹ Braulio of Zaragoza, *Epistula* XXI. *Vid.* L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, p. 114.

¹⁰⁰ *Vid.* P.D. King, *Law and Society*, p. 184.

¹⁰¹ Edition of J.M. Fernández Catón, *San Mancio, culto, leyenda, reliquias, ensayo de crítica hagiográfica*. León, 1983, pp. 156-164.

¹⁰² *Vid.* R. Guerreiro, “La imagen del judío en los textos hagiográficos y patristicos. Siglos V al VIII,” *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma (Serie II). Historia Antigua* 6 (1993) 544-545.

¹⁰³ B.-S. Albert, “*De fide*,” p. 304.

¹⁰⁴ P.D. King, *Law and Society*, p. 138, n. 1.

of Seville dealt with this subject in many works¹⁰⁵ and Julian of Toledo, by request of Erwig, reacted against the messianic ideas which were probably used by the Jews in their attempts to "contaminate" Christians.¹⁰⁶ Julian himself explains the intention of his work: "The faith of some Christians is wavering (when confronted with Jewish reasonings) because they dare to say with cancerous sermons and with a reckless calculation of years that Christ, God's son, has not yet arrived to save men, but he is yet to come [...] From this vain presumption they dare to scrutinize the presence of Christ's arrival, calculating the years from the beginning of the world according to their manuscripts".¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ From his first anti-Jewish work, although not excessively developed (*De nativitate Christi ex Isaiae testimoniis*, ed. in L. Castán, "Un opúsculo apologético de San Isidoro, inédito," *Revista Española de Teología* 20 (1960) 319-360, text in pp. 343-360), Isidore tried to equip Christians against the possible attacks of Jewish proselytism. L. Castán Lacoma, "San Isidoro de Sevilla, apologeta antijudaico," in M.C. Díaz y Díaz, *Isidoriana (Colección de estudios sobre Isidoro de Sevilla, publicados con ocasión del XIV Centenario de su nacimiento)*. León, 1961, p. 448.) and in his most important anti-Jewish works (*De fide catholica contra Iudaeos* and *Liber de variis quæstionibus adversus Iudaeos*) he developed some arguments against the possible Jewish objections through repeated scriptural references (*Vid.* B. Blumenkranz, *Les auteurs*, p. 91; L. Castán Lacona, "Un opúsculo," pp. 450 ff.; R. Hernández, "La España," pp. 678-679; L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, p. 142; L. A. García Moreno, *Los Judíos*, p. 119). In spite of the fact that they are formally addressed to the Jews (*De fide*, I, 3, 2 and 4: *Respondeant nobis Iudaei [...] dicant Iudaei*), and to all the Jewish converts in danger of breaking with Christianity (B. Blumenkranz, *Les auteurs*, pp. 90-92; F. Parente, "La controversia tra ebrei e cristiani in Francia e in Spagna dal VI al IX secolo," in *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, XXVI, p. 566), the truth is that they were intended to be an inexhaustible source of anti-Jewish instruction for the clergy who would be faced with the problem of destroying Jewish proselytism (B.-S. Albert, "*De fide*," p. 315).

¹⁰⁶ It seems that in Erwig's time, the Jews, following the tradition of the Talmud, were able to compose writings of anti-Christian polemics in Latin, where they denied that Jesus was the announced Messiah because he would have to arrive in the sixth millennium, era of the cosmic *Sabbath*. Julian tries to demonstrate that the Messiah was not to appear in the sixth millennium but in the sixth age, which coincides with Jesus and lasts until the end of time. *Vid.* B. Blumenkranz, *Les auteurs*, pp. 119-120; J. Campos, "El «De Comprobatione sextae aetatis libri tres» de San Julián de Toledo," *Helmantica* XVIII (1967) 299-302 and 304; *IDEM*, "El «De Comprobatione sextae aetatis libri tres» of St. Julián de Toledo (sus fuentes, dependencias y originalidad)," in *La Patrología Toledano-Visigoda*, pp. 246-247 and 249-250; F. Parente, "La controversia," p. 575; J. GIL, "Judíos y cristianos," pp. 80 ff.; M. Simonetti, *La produzione*, p. 175; C. del Valle, "El «De Comprobatione Sextae Aetatis» de Julián de Toledo y el judaísmo español," *Estudios Bíblicos* XLIX (1991) 254-256.

¹⁰⁷ *De comprobatione*, I, 1: [...] *etiam quosdam e fidelium numero titubare compellunt, cum Christum Dei Filium necdum pro salute hominum in mundum uenisse, sed adhuc uenturum esse [...] Ex hac igitur opinione uanissima audent, ab initio mundi secundum suos codices annorum supputatione collecta, aduentus Christi explorare praesentiam [...]*.

Energetic actions against proselytism had already appeared in Arrian times. Some of Alaric's laws tried to avoid the conversion of free Christians to Judaism,¹⁰⁸ which in Catholic times was a serious problem in maintaining the religious unity of the kingdom and was considered a *crimen laesae maiestatis*.¹⁰⁹ The measures applied were very severe. If the proselytes were Christians and free persons, men or women, they were subject to the death penalty and the confiscation of their wealth, according to Chindaswinth.¹¹⁰ Erwig kept the ban but changed the sanction ordaining the amputation of the male organ for men and the nose for women.¹¹¹ If the proselyte was a slave of a Jew, he/she obtained his/her freedom under the obligation of converting to Christianity.¹¹² With Sisebut, the Jew who converted any Christian to his religion was punished with death.¹¹³ Erwig even punished the attempt at proselytism with the confiscation of possessions and exile and forbade the defense of Judaism. In the same way, he forbade public attack or criticism against a Christian under the punishment of confiscation of wealth or amputation of the male organ or nose.¹¹⁴ However, there was also the matter of Jews recently converted to Christianity who were in danger of returning to their old religion. For this reason the Fourth Council of Toledo forbade relationships between converted Jews and Jews who were not yet baptized, even with retroactive consequences in the case of marriages.¹¹⁵

We need to pay special attention to the measures taken against the Jewish tenure of Christian slaves, as it was thought that this was an easy way to achieve conversion to Judaism and, therefore, the most likely and effective way to proselytize. In this sense, for example, it is possible that the Jews viewed the practice of the circumcision of their

¹⁰⁸ *Breviarium*, XVI, 2, 1; XVI, 3, 2; IX, 4, 4 (edition of G. Haenel, *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, Leipzig, 1849). *Vid.* S. Katz, *The Jews*, p. 103; L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, p. 96.

¹⁰⁹ *Vid.* S. Katz, *The Jews*, p. 44; B.-S. Albert, "De fide," p. 302.

¹¹⁰ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 2, 16 (confirmed by Recceswinth). *Vid.* B.S. Bachrach, *Early Jewish policy*, p. 15; L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, p. 117; L.A. García Moreno, *Los Judíos*, pp. 154-155 (where he proves that Chindaswinth was not a Jewish sympathizer).

¹¹¹ *Vid.* J. Juster, *La condition*, p. 33 (307).

¹¹² III Toledo, c. 14.

¹¹³ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 2, 14 (confirmed by Recceswinth). *Vid.* L. A. García Moreno, *Los Judíos*, p. 146.

¹¹⁴ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 3, 3; *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 3, 9 (*cfr.* *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 2, 2). *Vid.* J. Juster, *La condition*, p. 34 (308); S. Katz, *The Jews*, p. 43.

¹¹⁵ V Toledo, c. 62. *Vid.* L. A. García Moreno, *Los Judíos*, p. 150.

slaves as a long lasting instrument in defense of Judaism¹¹⁶ and for this reason the canon and civil laws forbade so insistently the purchase and possession of Christian slaves.¹¹⁷ The first measures in this sense appeared in the Arian period. Alaric II established freedom for the circumcised slave, while the person who performed it was punished by death and the slave's owner was exiled for permitting it.¹¹⁸ In the Catholic era, Reccared decided that none of the Jews could buy Christian slaves either by donation, or by onerous contracts.¹¹⁹ Sisebut even forbade the Jews to possess settlers or simple Christian domestic slaves, because he considered it an insult for a Christian to be subjected to a Jew; however, he allowed them to possess slaves who were not Christian, but warned them that if these slaves converted to Christianity, they would obtain their freedom.¹²⁰ For its part, the Fourth Council of Toledo declared that the Jews were not allowed to have Christian slaves, because "it would be a crime for Christ's servants to serve the Antichrist's ministers."¹²¹ Undoubtedly we can detect Isidore's hand here, again falling into contradiction. On the one hand, he spiritually justified the existence of slavery and the legitimacy of possessing slaves among men¹²² while, on the other hand, he purposely denied this right to the Jews when he signed and accepted the canon of this Council.¹²³ A few years later, the Tenth Council of Toledo (656) forbade the selling of Christian slaves to Jews or pagans, something which seemed to have been occurring frequently among ecclesiastics and laymen.¹²⁴ Finally, Erwig again ordained that the Jews could not have Christian slaves, but his laws are confusing re-

¹¹⁶ We should not forget that according to Talmudic law, although the slave of the Jew could not be circumcised against his will, he should adapt himself to the customs of the Jewish religion (*vid.* M. Goldstein, *Derecho hebreo a través de la Biblia y el Talmud*. Buenos Aires, 1947, p. 190). Even so, the measures against the circumcision of Christian slaves and the chapter on the *passio Mantii* lead one to believe that Jewish owners frequently practiced forced circumcision on their slaves.

¹¹⁷ L.A. García Moreno, *Los Judíos*, p. 135. P. D. King thinks that these measures and bans were frequently disobeyed because traditionally the slave trade was handled by Jews, *Law and Society*, pp. 198-199.

¹¹⁸ *Breviarium*, III, 1, 5; XVI, 4, 1-2. *Vid.* L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, p. 95; L. A. García Moreno, *Los Judíos*, p. 142.

¹¹⁹ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 2, 12; III Toledo, c. 14. *Vid.* J. Juster, *La condition*, p. 49 (323); L. A. García Moreno, *Los Judíos*, p. 144.

¹²⁰ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 2, 13-14. *Vid.* J. Juster, *La condition*, p. 51 (325); L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, pp. 107-108.

¹²¹ IV Toledo, c. 66: *nefas est enim ut membra Christi serviant Anti-Christi ministris*.

¹²² *Sententiarum libri tres*, III, 47.

¹²³ *Vid.* B. Blumenkranz, *Les auteurs*, p. 89.

¹²⁴ X Toledo, c. 7. *Vid.* T. González, p. 535.

garding how Jews were supposed to get rid of these slaves. In one of his laws he obliged Jews to sell their Christian slaves under the supervision of the clergy if in sixty days the Jew did not profess his Catholic faith.¹²⁵ In another law, he stated that Jewish slaves who wanted to convert to Christianity had to be liberated without much ado.¹²⁶

It should therefore come as no surprise that the legislation as far back as Arian times should have insisted repeatedly on prohibiting Jews from owning Christian slaves, since proselytism could be carried out very effectively through the master's authority: slaves not only acquired Jewish customs, but frequently they were also circumcised and obliged to convert to Judaism. In turn, the conversion of free Christians to Judaism was punished with very severe penalties, not only for the convert, but also for the Jew responsible for the conversion. However, an even greater effort was needed to put an end to the influence that the Jews surreptitiously had over the Christians. For this reason, the Visigothic Fathers did not cease to write about the precautions that faithful Christians should take against judaizing influence.

5. *The Jews who yielded:* *The Attraction towards Christianity and Forced Conversions*

One of the most important aims pursued by the anti-Jewish dispositions was the conversion of the Jews to Christianity through two means: the first, by attraction, which was not successful, in spite of Isidore's suggestions, and the second, by force, which created the problem of genuine converts.¹²⁷

The first forced conversion came from Reccared through the Third Council of Toledo, whose canon 14 forced the children of mixed marriages to be baptized.¹²⁸ Sisebut, according to the Fourth

¹²⁵ J. Parkes thinks that in this law Erwig is forcing the Jews to sell their slaves but not to liberate them because he feels that for a Christian it would be an insult to receive liberty of the hands of a Jew, *The Conflict*, p. 363.

¹²⁶ *Cfr. Leg. Visig.*, XII, 3, 12; XII, 3, 13; XII, 3, 16; XII, 3, 18. *Vid.* S. Katz, *The Jews*, p. 99; P.D. King, *Law and Society*, p. 142; L.A. García Moreno, *Los Judíos*, p. 162.

¹²⁷ *Vid.* D. Romano, "Judíos hispánicos," p. 261; J. Blázquez Miguel, *Toledot*, p. 29.

¹²⁸ S. Katz, *The Jews*, p. 12; S. Monzó, "El bautismo de los judíos en la España visigoda. En torno al canon 57 del Concilio IV de Toledo," *Cuadernos de Trabajos de Derecho* II (1953) 118-119; B. S. Bachrach, *Early Jewish policy*, pp. 5-6.

Council of Toledo, attempted a general conversion around 616.¹²⁹ As a consequence, many Jews either emigrated or remained in the kingdom as fugitives.¹³⁰ Swinthila, who was considered a Jewish sympathizer by some, did not abrogate Sisebut's measures and it is assumed that forced baptisms continued during his reign.¹³¹ The fourth Council of Toledo, presided by Isidore of Seville, was opposed to forced conversions and suggested instead the method of persuasion in order to attract the Jews although he considered it obligatory to maintain baptized persons within the Christian faith "so that the Lord's name not be blasphemed and the faith accepted by them considered low and wicked."¹³²

One of the questions most discussed in on Visigothic studies is the anti-Judaism expressed by Isidore of Seville and the matter of forced conversions. In his *Historia Rerum Gothorum*, he praised Sisebut's divine fervor in taking the Christian faith to the Jews, but censures that force was applied to those who would be better persuaded by the arguments of faith.¹³³ Like other Iberian Fathers, Isidore showed a deep preoccupation with converting the Jews and reaffirming the new belief among them through, in theory, persuasive attraction.¹³⁴ However, a very different reading can be taken from the Fourth Council of Toledo, presided and inspired by Isidore of Seville. Here, the bishops rejected the method of forced conversion, but they were hardly very far from this when they thought it was suitable and obligatory to keep baptized Jews within the Christian faith even by force.¹³⁵ J. Orlandis tries to justify this ecclesiastical view using the

¹²⁹ Cfr. S. Katz, *The Jews*, p. 12; J.L. Lacave, "La legislación antijudía de los visigodos," in *Simpósio «Toledo Judaico»*. Toledo, 1973, I, pp. 35-36; L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, p. 109; L.A. García Moreno, *Los Judíos*, pp. 147-148.

¹³⁰ B. Blumenkranz, *Juifs et chrétiens*, pp. 107-108.

¹³¹ L.A. García Moreno, *Los Judíos*, p. 149.

¹³² IV Toledo, c. 57: [...] *ne nomen Domini blasphemetur, et fidem quam susceperunt vilis ac contemptibilis habeatur*.

¹³³ Isidoro de Sevilla, *Historia Rerum Gothorum, Suevorum et Vandalorum*, 60. (edition of C. Rodríguez Alonso, *Isidoro de Sevilla. Las historias de los godos, vándalos y suevos*. León, 1975). Cfr. *Etymologiae*, V, 39 (edition of J. Oroz; A. Marcos, *Isidoro de Sevilla. Etimologías, I (libros I-X)*. Madrid, 1982). Vid. J. Fernández Alonso, *La cura pastoral en la España romanovisigoda*. Roma, 1955, p. 265.

¹³⁴ Cfr. J. Campos, "El «De Comprobatione»," p. 322; A. Riesco Terrero, "El problema judíos," pp. 598 and 603; R. Guerrero, "La imagen," p. 549.

¹³⁵ Vid. B. Blumenkranz, "The Roman Church and the Jews," J. Cohen (ed.), *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict from Late Antiquity to the Reformation*. New York, 1991, pp. 194-196; S. Grayzel, "The beginnings," p. 24; P.D. King, *Law and Society*, pp. 133-134, n. 5.

obscure concept of "theological realism," according to which the sacrament of baptism must prevail over the lack of liberty of the subjects because "God's Right" was above any other consideration.¹³⁶ However, P. Cazier's explanation about the defense of the credibility of baptism as a binding factor in Visigothic society, seems to be more suitable,¹³⁷ a circumstance which obliged Isidore to fall into contradiction. In spite of the fact that he preferred persuasion to coercion, Isidore confirms that forced converts had to be retained in the faith due to the holy character of the oath.¹³⁸ And, at the same time, we cannot ignore Augustine's influence over Isidore in the idea of justifying force in certain cases, whenever it was to bring good, although it was not to lead towards faith.¹³⁹

But Isidore was a long way from being doubtful with regard to the Jews. Although he maintained a certain doctrinal formalism against coercion, the truth is that an evident opportunism can be observed in him, because he deployed all his apologetics against Judaism under the protection of the circumstances which determined forced conversions which were not refused by the clergy in any concrete way.¹⁴⁰ His declared hostility towards the Jewish people influenced the dispositions of the Fourth Council of Toledo and Visigothic legislation.¹⁴¹ The hard assertion, for example, that Jews who persisted in their

¹³⁶ J. Orlandis, "Hacia una mejor comprensión," pp. 162-163.

¹³⁷ In a society where the oath and its holy character were essential the Jews could not be permitted to disregard them. Oaths pronounced by them, with or without coercion, on the day of their baptism was understood to be changeless, as it could have been extremely dangerous and contagious to permit the renunciation of baptism and thus destroy a holy oath which, moreover, was the basis for the legitimacy of the monarchy (See P. Cazier, "De la coercion a la persuasion. L'attitude d'Isidore de Seville face a la politique anti-juive des souverains visigotiques," in V. Nikiprowetzky (Comp.), *De l'antijudaïsme antique a l'antisémitisme contemporain*. Lille, 1979, p. 135.

¹³⁸ P. Cazier, "De la coercion," p. 143. Some contemporary authors who, although they agree with the Isidorian idea on conversions without coercion, do not hesitate to assert that the circumstances and atmosphere of the time warranted these forced conversions in order to destroy the internal enemy, as well as for "Christians to have clear consciences," in J.F. Romero Recio, *San Ildefonso de Toledo. Biografía, época y posteridad*. Madrid, 1985, p. 177.

¹³⁹ *vid.* P. Cazier, "De la coercion," p. 144.

¹⁴⁰ *Vid.* J. Issac, *Genèse*, p. 242; L. Castán Lacoma, "San Isidoro," p. 445. Isidore himself asserts in *Sententiarum libri tres*, II, 7, 8-10 that many people converted because of the threats and punishments of God, because He knows many ways to achieve involuntary conversions.

¹⁴¹ B.-S. Albert, "Isidore of Seville," pp. 210 and 213. *Cf.* S. Monzó, "El bautismo," p. 125.

faith would be condemned to slavery by the Christians and eventually condemned to extermination,¹⁴² shows the ultimate intention pursued by Visigothic legislation: Jewish subordination to the Christian majority, a method which would inevitably lead to the disappearance of Judaism.¹⁴³

With the Jews in mind, Chintila forbade all those subjects who were not Catholics to live in his kingdom, forcing his successors to commit themselves to keeping this decision, before their coronation, under *anathema Maranatha*.¹⁴⁴ The declaration of faith or *placitum*, probably written by Braulio of Zaragoza and signed by the representatives of the converted Jews, under obligation by Chintila at the end of the Sixth Council of Toledo, likewise implied the obligatory admission of the Catholic faith for the *exhebrei*.¹⁴⁵ As with every *professio*, it is not only a verbal formula but a dignified forswearing and commitment made in the presence of the bishop or bishops and then kept in the Church archives.¹⁴⁶ The punishments established for those who broke this commitment were stoning for the guilty party and the confiscation of wealth for the accomplice.¹⁴⁷ In Recceswinth's time, the *placitum* was declared on the same terms, in conformity with the obligatory baptism of the Jews which was passed by the Eighth Council of Toledo.¹⁴⁸

Erwig gave the Jews of his kingdom a year to choose forced conversion or exile; after this period, the punishment for delinquents would be *decalvatio*, a hundred lashes, exile and confiscation of their possessions.¹⁴⁹

There was also an attempt to keep converts within the Christian religion, through the issuance of different laws against Christians who

¹⁴² *De fide*, II, 9, 3 ff.; XIII, 5. *Vid.* B.-S. Albert, "Isidore of Seville," p. 211.

¹⁴³ *See.* B.-S. Albert, "Un nouvel examen de la politique anti-juive visigothique: A propos d'un article récent," *Revue des Études Juives* 135 (1976) 329.

¹⁴⁴ VI Toledo, c. 3. *Vid.* L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, pp. 113-114.

¹⁴⁵ B. Blumenkranz, *Les auteurs*, pp. 104-105; *IDEM*, *Juifs et chrétiens*, p. 113. Latin text of this *Professio vel confessio iudaeorum civitatis Toletanae* is edited by F. Fita y Colomé, *Suplementos*, 43-49.

¹⁴⁶ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 3, 13 and 28. *Vid.* P. D. King, *Law and Society*, pp. 139-140; J. Orlandis, "Hacia una mejor comprensión," pp. 170-171; *IDEM*, *La vida en España*, pp. 130-131.

¹⁴⁷ F. Fita y Colomé, *Suplementos*, p. 48. *Vid.* L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, pp. 115-116.

¹⁴⁸ VIII Toledo, c. 12. *Vid.* L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, pp. 120-121.

¹⁴⁹ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 3, 3. It therefore seems logical to think that when he speaks about *iudaei* in the rest of laws, he is referring to Christians of Jewish origin, J. Parkes, *The Conflict*, p. 364.

helped or hid Jewish suspects on pain of confiscation of the fourth part of their wealth and excommunication.¹⁵⁰ And clergy as well as laymen were forbidden to be swayed by bribes or gifts or even benevolence to help the Jews who wanted to maintain their religious customs.¹⁵¹

However, this policy of forced conversions to Christianity brought with it the problem of apostasy and the social and legal conditions of the converts. Although different dispositions forbade and punished apostasy they seemed not to have given a satisfactory solution, judging by the repeated insistence on the imposed sanctions.¹⁵² Obviously the clergy and the Visigothic kings were not so naive as to think that the Jew converted by force would turn into a sincere Christian. In fact, according to Erwig, he was still *perfidus*, *infidelis* and an *anti-christiani minister*.¹⁵³ The Church continually catalogued the converts as suspect Christians; they were considered, and reasonably so, crypto-Jews, because they kept to the Jewish faith in secret.¹⁵⁴ Egica tried to keep them faithful to Christianity by improving their social situation, to the detriment of those who still practiced their traditional religion. On the condition that they called themselves Christian, the sincere converts were considered equal (at least in theory) to the old Christians. On the contrary, the relapsed Jews, excluded from lucrative activities, had to suffer confiscation of their wealth and pay special taxes, under pain of slavery for the transgressors.¹⁵⁵ However, converts were never trusted and for this reason the Visigothic clergy needed to keep a close watch over them.¹⁵⁶

Episcopal control over Christian converts appeared established for the first time in the Ninth Council of Toledo (655). In its seventeenth canon it states that all Jews who are baptized have to meet with

¹⁵⁰ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 2, 15.

¹⁵¹ IV Toledo, c. 58; *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 3, 24. *Vid.* P. D. King, *op. cit.*, p. 138; L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, p. 111; L. A. García Moreno, *Los judíos*, p. 119.

¹⁵² *Professio vel confessio iudaeorum civitatis Toletanae* (ed. F. Fita y Colomé, *Suplementos*, p. 45); IV Toledo, c. 59; VIII Toledo, *tomus* (Recceswinth); XII Toledo, *tomus* (Erwig); *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 2, 4; XII, 3, 9. *Vid.* S. Katz, *The Jews*, pp. 50-51.

¹⁵³ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 3, 10; XII, 3, 12; XII, 3, 24 (*cf.* XI Toledo, 11). *Vid.* P.D. King, *Law and Society*, p. 136.

¹⁵⁴ *Vid.* J. Orlandis, "Hacia una mejor comprensión," p. 129; L.A. García Moreno, *Los judíos*, p. 117.

¹⁵⁵ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 2, 18. *Vid.* L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, p. 130; L.A. García Moreno, *Los judíos*, pp. 165-166.

¹⁵⁶ *Vid.* P. D. King, *Law and Society*, p. 134; L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, pp. 123-124; J. Blázquez Miguel, *Toledot*, pp. 29-30.

priests on Christian and Jewish feast days, so that the bishop could verify the integrity of their conversion, under penalty of whipping and abstinence for those who did not obey.¹⁵⁷ Some years later, Erwig put the converts again under the vigilance of the bishops and priests. The converts, with their wives and children, had to be in their presence on feast days. They were reminded that no priest should take advantage of the situation to appease his lust with a Jewish woman, under penalty of *decalvatio* and a hundred lashes for those converts who did not obey.¹⁵⁸ At the same time, they were obliged to check on the converts' journeys, so the guardian priest was expected to give the suspect convert some letters for the priests living in those places where he would pass through. The convert also had to be in presence of these priests on feast days.¹⁵⁹ At first sight, it seems that these dispositions could have been effective, but it is difficult to assert, as J. Orlandis did, that they were a general rule, due to the complexity of the administrative and security services which they demanded.¹⁶⁰ All in all, it is evident that, because of this attitude, the real situation of the converts was always marked by discrimination and distrust.¹⁶¹

6. Repression against the Family and the Social Framework of Jewish Communities

A canon preserved in the pseudo-isidorian *Decretales* which belonged to a missing Council in Sisebut's time, stipulated every Jew's obligation to baptize his children and it was forbidden to substitute other

¹⁵⁷ Vid. L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, p. 121; L.A. García Moreno, *Los Judíos*, p. 121.

¹⁵⁸ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 3, 21 (cf. *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 3, 23; XII, 3, 26).

¹⁵⁹ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 3, 20. Vid. R. Hernández, "La España visigoda," p. 668; L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, pp. 126-127.

¹⁶⁰ J. Orlandis, "Hacia una mejor comprensión," pp. 131-132.

¹⁶¹ In this way, the marginal phenomenon known later as "marranismo" was to appear (See, L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, pp. 119, 129 and 164; L.A. García Moreno, *Los Judíos*, p. 148). Indeed, in the Iberian Peninsula, at the end of the fourteenth century, the problem of converted Jews or "new Christians" who secretly continued with their former Jewish practices provoked discrimination, hate and distrust in the people, and they were vulgarly called "marranos" or pigs. On this topic see, C. Roth, *History of the Marranos*. New York, 1959; B. Netanyahu, *The Marranos of Spain. From the Late XIVth to the Early XVIIth Century, According to Contemporary Hebrew Sources*. New York, 1966 (There exists an updated translation into Spanish made by C. Morón Arroyo, at the behest of the *Junta de Castilla y León* in 1994).

children for them in the service.¹⁶² This seems to have been the first measure of religious interference in the heart of Jewish families, but not the last one. The Fourth and Seventeenth Councils of Toledo stipulated the separation of Jewish children—the later council specified that they should be under the age of seven—from their parents who were not converted Jews or were relapsed Jews. In this manner they could be educated as Christians by ecclesiastic institutions and faithful Christians.¹⁶³ These canons were intended to break the bonds which permitted the cohesion of Jewish families under the pretext of traditional of Roman law, according to which it was suitable to break the paternal-filial bond due to the lack of sufficient guarantees in the parents, something that would demand the “higher protection” of the State.¹⁶⁴ Evidently, for the authorities, the upbringing parents gave their children could be extremely damaging, because they transmitted their mistaken beliefs and “Judaic perfidy” to their children.

On other hand, the main supports of social cohesion in Jewish communities were attacked in diverse ways. Again, it started with the family by forbidding inbreeding (up to the sixth degree) which was practiced by the Jews¹⁶⁵ and which constituted the basis of all the bonds within the Jewish quarter.¹⁶⁶ Also, every Jew, with or without baptism, was forbidden to read or have Jewish books, especially the Talmud, and to teach it to children or young people under the penalty of *decalvatio*, a hundred lashes, confiscation of wealth and exile.¹⁶⁷ In this way, with the separation of parents and children and with the

¹⁶² Vid. J. Fernández Alonso, *La cura pastoral*, p. 265; L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, p. 110.

¹⁶³ IV Toledo, c. 60; XVII Toledo, c. 8. Vid. L. García Iglesias, *Los judíos*, p. 150. Throughout the history of the Church numerous episodes are recorded where the children were separated from their parents who were not Christians. In this sense, its canonical justification generally referred to c. 60 of the Fourth Council of Toledo, the influence of which has always been outstanding, even into the eighteenth century when Pope Benedictus XIV (1740-1757) incorporated it into the canonical Code (vid. E.H. Flannery, *Veintitrés siglos de antisemitismo. Desde el mundo antiguo hasta la lucha por la emancipación*. (transl.) E. Goligorsky, Buenos Aires, 1974, p. 153).

¹⁶⁴ Vid. L. García Iglesias, “Los menores de edad, hijos de judíos, en los cánones y leyes de la época visigoda,” *El Olivo* 5-6 (1978) 30-31.

¹⁶⁵ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 2, 6 (Recceswinth).

¹⁶⁶ L.A. García Moreno, *Los Judíos*, p. 157.

¹⁶⁷ *Leg. Visig.*, XII, 3, 11; *cfr. Confessio vel professio iudaeorum civitatis Toletanae*, where the Jews were forced to renounce the books used for teaching in the Synagogues (ed. F. Fita y Colomé, *Suplementos*, p. 47). Vid. J. Juster, *La condition*, p. 32 (306); S. Katz, *The Jews*, pp. 71-72.

ban on teaching the Law and oral tradition, they attempted to destroy the more or less clandestine rabbinical schools, and the private teaching of Jewish fathers,¹⁶⁸ both so essential to cohesion, identification and ideological reproduction in Jewish communities.¹⁶⁹

However, it seems that the main purpose of the Visigothic repression was the destruction of the hierarchical organization of the communities. The legislators tried to break the feelings of solidarity and hierarchical and vertical dependence of the Jewish quarter.¹⁷⁰ At the same time, through the vigilance and the tutelage of the bishops there was an attempt to create a new dependent hierarchical systems between these and converted Jews, following the rules of patronage.¹⁷¹ In fact, the professions of faith were intended to ensure a relationship of *fidelitas* which came from the most powerful representatives of the Jews and which were addressed to the king, Council and bishops.¹⁷²

Conclusion

Visigothic anti-Judaism during the seventh century meant the development and radicalization of the intransigence inherited from Arian times. In spite of the fact that it was inspired by the Church, it was finally the result of close collaboration between the Church and the Visigothic monarchy. Since the reign of the first Catholic kings the Jewish religion was considered perfidious and harmful and that is the reason why all their characteristic customs and social manifestations such as circumcision, the *Sabbath*, Jewish feasts, and doctrine were forbidden. Furthermore, forced conversions were made and severe sanctions were imposed on those who returned to judaizing practices. There were attempts to separate socially the members of the Jewish communities by destroying family bonds and their mutually binding organization and by setting up system of vigilance and control of the baptized Jews which depended directly on the bishops.

However, the Jewish problem in Visigothic society cannot be rightly understood if we forget the role of the Iberian Fathers who

¹⁶⁸ L. García Iglesias, "Los menores," pp. 31-32.

¹⁶⁹ L.A. García Moreno, *Los Judíos*, p. 161.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 163

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154.

actively and directly participated in Councils where sharp measures against Jewish beliefs were approved. In fact, many of these bishops of great influence disseminated a great quantity of anti-Jewish works which decisively influenced and encouraged many unfavorable measures which came from the monarchy and which were approved and justified in the acts of the Councils.

In conclusion, we must assert that despite the fact that the measures against the Jews failed in their objective, the destruction of Judaism and, therefore, the consolidation of religious unity in the kingdom around Catholicism, they were the source of continual social discomfort for the Jews.¹⁷³ That is the reason why Iberian Jews, with or without conversion to Christianity, were unable to free themselves of social discrimination and marginalization within this atmosphere of hostility and tireless anti-Jewish preaching in the Visigothic era.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ According to J. Orlandis, the Jewish problem did not end because of the very inefficacy of the legislation and the lack of continuity in the Jewish policy of the Visigothic kings. The truth is that the Jews, converted or not, kept on professing their religion in secret and, at the end of Visigothic reign, several still powerful communities (Elvira, Córdoba, Seville, Toledo...) were able to give valuable aid to the Muslim invaders, *La vida en la España*, pp. 134-135. See B. Saitta, "I giudei nella Spagna visigota. Da Suintila a Rodrigo," *Quaderni Catanesi di Studi Classici e Medievali* V 9 (1983) 144; J. Orlandis, "Le royaume wisigothique et son unité religieuse," in J. Fontaine et Ch. Pellistrandi (Dirs.), *L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne wisigothique*. Madrid, 1992, p. 13.

¹⁷⁴ After having written this chapter, the book by B. Saitta *L'antisemitismo nella Spagna visigotica*, Roma, 1995 was published. However, this work neither adds anything new nor changes the conclusions of my contribution.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE POLITICAL GRAMMAR OF ILDEFONSUS OF TOLEDO: A PRELIMINARY REPORT

Jeremy du Quesnay Adams

Ildefonsus, metropolitan bishop of Toledo and hence primate of the Spanish Church from 657 to 667, was, in the estimation of his articulate successor Julian, a man who shone in the recollection of his contemporaries, “enriching the culture of our age with rivers of overflowing eloquence.” According to Julian, a competitive personality indeed and no mean stylist himself, Ildefonsus was a man of the highest wisdom, brilliantly endowed with the gift of orderly discourse. His tongue was an abundant stream. He was held in high esteem for the loftiness of his address, so much so that when his richly furnished speech poured forth in orderly argument, one had good reason to believe that this was no man, but God’s all-satisfying utterance speaking through a man.

“He was, indeed,” Julian goes on to tell his readers, “the author of quite a few important works composed in rather splendid language (*luculentiore sermone*)”¹—clearly a figure demanding the attention of anyone sharing my interest in the intellectual elite of Visigothic Spain.

I am currently engaged in a study of what I call the “political grammar” of Spanish authors who wrote under Visigothic rule, that is, from the early fifth to the early eighth century AD. This is part of

¹ “Ildephonsus memoria sui temporis clarus, et irriguis eloquentiae fluminibus exornans saecula aetatis nostrae, . . . sapientia summus, disserendi ingenio clarus, eloquendi facultate praecipuus, linguae flumine copiosus, tantoque eloquentiae cothurno celeber habitus, ut disputationum eius profusa oratio dum porrecte dirigitur, merito non homo, sed Deus per hominum affatim eloqui crederetur.” From Julian’s continuation of *De viris illustribus: SS. PP. Toletanorum quotquot extant opera* I, ed. Franciscus de Lorenzana (Madrid, 1783: reprinted in *Monumenta Toletana Sacra* by the Comitatus pro XIII Jubileo Sancti Ildefonsi in Toledo, 1972)—hereafter *SPTol*—, 94. Also in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*—hereafter, *PL*—96, col. 43. Ildefonsus may have been born ca. 609, and died 23 January, 667. The basic references are still Sister Athanasius Braegelmann, O.S.B., *The Life and Writings of Saint Ildefonsus of Toledo* (Washington, 1942)—hereafter, Braegelmann—and Juan Francisco Rivera Recio, *San Ildefonso de Toledo. Biografía, época y posteridad* (Madrid-Toledo, 1985)—hereafter, Rivera Recio.

an ongoing effort to understand the patterns of thought and behavior that characterized the social and political relationships of that distinctive phase of the Spanish and indeed of the Western experience. It involves, among other things, establishing the range of meaning (classical structuralists might call this the *signification*) of certain nouns, adjectives, and verbs which the investigator discerns as key indicators of significant patterns of interaction. Perhaps even more instructive than the apparent meaning of substantives and verbs perceived as revealing signs, is the interaction of those words in statements that seem to convey sociopolitical patterns with particular cogency.

In the course of writing my doctoral dissertation I noticed that Isidore of Seville defined the significance-rich noun *populus* much as one would expect from a devout student of Latin grammar who admired the rhetorical style of Augustine and the erudition of Jerome. Unlike that pair of Patristic models, however, Isidore proved incapable of using that word in a fashion consistent with his own definition of it. Shortly thereafter, I argued in a paper entitled "The Political Grammar of Isidore of Seville" that Isidore's inconsistency revealed a major shift in political reality.²

In Isidore's world Germanic *gentes*, human groups defined primarily by ethnic self-consciousness, a sense of territorial identity and at least a lingering memory of linguistic distinctiveness, had taken over most if not all of the prerogatives of sovereignty and many of the forms of civic cohesion previously reserved for the *populus Romanus*, the *res publica*, and the *civitates* of an older Mediterranean constitutional and cultural order. Most of Isidore's efforts to confer ideological legitimacy on the Gothic regime in his native Spain denied any fundamental change in the nature of political order, but the grammatical patterns of his language reveal how deluded (or disingenuous) those public statements were. Isidore's grammar betrayed his rhetoric—at least, it exposed it.

In order to set in context Isidore's enormous and diverse corpus and to track its impact, I am now undertaking a semantic study of the less well-known Spanish authors immediately preceding, contemporary with, and following Isidore, especially Apringius of Beja, John of Biclar, Braulio of Saragossa,³ Braulio's contemporary Ildefonsus of

² *Arts libéraux et philosophie au moyen âge: actes du quatrième congrès international de philosophie médiévale* (Montréal-Paris, 1969), 763-75.

³ "The Political Grammar of Early Hispano-Gothic Historians," in *Medieval Iberia: Essays on the History and Literature of Medieval Spain*, ed. Donald J. Kagay and Joseph T. Snow (New York, 1997), 1-24.

Toledo, and Julian of Toledo.⁴ The graphs accompanying this paper present the results of my survey of seven nouns in five of Ildefonsus' surviving works, viz., *gens*, *natio*, *populus*, *plebs*, *regnum*, *imperium*, and *patria* in Ildefonsus' defense of *The Perpetual Virginity of the Blessed Mary*, his treatises on *The Understanding of Baptism* and on the allegorical significance of *The Journey Through the Desert*, in his continuation of the catalogue *On Famous Men* begun by Jerome, continued by Gennadius and Isidore of Seville (which Julian would in turn continue after Ildefonsus—that is the source of his eulogy), and in Ildefonsus' very few surviving letters. I have carefully avoided any guesses about his well-attested contribution to the Mozarabic liturgy, which has provoked the attention of other, more adventurous scholars. The immediate goal of this line of research is to propose a global definition and summary of the political theory which reveals itself in the contours of several varieties of discourse on the diverse topics to which the writings securely attributed to Ildefonsus are addressed. Once that theoretical construct is securely established, we may be able to explore the complex intertextualities of the Mozarabic liturgy as well as explicitly political statements of later Hispanic and Transpyrenean writers with fruitful and (as I suspect) some surprising discoveries.

As I see it, those seven nouns appear in Ildefonsus' prose in a semantic cluster, with *populus* as a major competitor to *gens* and *regnum* at least in certain contexts, *plebs* as a satellite alternative (not quite a synonym) for *populus*, *natio* as a comparable satellite to *gens*, and *imperium* to *regnum*.

The three sets of columns in the accompanying graphs register three dimensions of these nouns' significance. The left-hand columns register the *attributes* of those nouns, what I in full subjectivity see as their essential content and their explicit or implicit resonance in the contexts in which they appear. The middle set of columns register the *referents* of those nouns, the entities (abstract and concrete) to which Ildefonsus was referring when he made use of them in a given statement and its context. The right-hand columns register those nouns' basic syntactical interaction with the rest of those statements.

In the first column of attributes I have registered my sense that the noun in question designates a coherent collectivity rather than a fragment thereof. It embraces and consists of several classes, all ages,

⁴ "The Political Grammar of Julian of Toledo," in *Minorities and Barbarians in Medieval Life and Thought*, ed. Susan J. Ridyard and Robert G. Benson (Sewanee, 1966), 179-195.

and both sexes. In this body of material that attribute is usually understood rather than explicitly stated, and hence appears as a hollow space rather than filled in. The second column indicates relative magnitude: the group is a multitude, of respectable if unspecified size, as all the *gentes* gathered in the Universal Church must be.⁵ The third column registers the author's predication of ontological unity as an attribute: this is an Augustinian (some might say a Plotinian) category that seems to me to declare itself all too rarely in the discourse even of Visigothic Augustinians like Ildefonsus and Julian.⁶

With the fourth column we move to characteristics of common explicit importance to the authors I am now studying: it is for rational assent, or moral character, such as the acclamation of Mary as blessed by all *nationes*.⁷ Column 5 is for some act of policy, of religious or secular civic behavior, often though not always associated with the rational, moral impulse or response of column 4. Instances of such acts of 'policy' are the transfer from the Devil's power to the *regnum Dei* effected by baptism, or the progress of the *beatus populus*, the People of God, through the Desert.⁸ Column 6 is for behavior specifi-

⁵ "Congregatae sunt omnes gentes in nomine huius domini in medio Jerusalem, quae est visio pacis, id est, Ecclesia universalis,": *De virginitate perpetua S. Mariae adversus infideles tres*—hereafter, *VP*—4: *SPTol*, 120a; *PL* 96, col. 67. The best recent edition is that of Vicente Blanco García, *San Ildefonso de Toledo. La virginidad perpetua de Santa María* (Madrid, 1937). This edition was revised and published in 1971 by Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos as vol. I of their bilingual *Santos Padres Españoles* series—hereafter, *BAC:SPE* 1. This passage occurs in that edition on p. 69.

⁶ See José Madoz, "San Ildefonso de Toledo," *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 26 (1952),—hereafter, Madoz, "San Ildefonso"—485-86. In the Acts of the conference celebrating the 1400th anniversary of the Third Council of Toledo, Jacques Fontaine and Alberto Ferreiro emphasized the major influence of several of Augustine's works on the thought and style of Leander of Seville, Isidore's elder brother, an important figure in this closely-linked tradition: see Fontaine, "La homilía de San Leandro ante el Concilio III de Toledo: temática y forma," and Ferreiro, "*Linguarum diversitate*: Babel and Pentecost in Leander's Homily at the Third Council of Toledo," *Concilio III de Toledo. XIV Centenario, 589-1989* (Toledo, 1990), 249-68 and 237-48, esp. 239-43, 252-56.

⁷ "quam Spiritus sanctus ab omnibus nationibus beatam dicendam edixit" (an echo of Luc 1:48), *PV* 12: *SPTol*, 159b; *PL* 96, col. 107; *BAC:SPE* 1, p. 151.

⁸ "eruti a potestate tenebrarum, in Domini sui regnum per sacramentum baptismatis transferantur,": *De cognitione baptismi*—hereafter, *CB*—26 (source: Isidore of Seville, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* II, 21, 3): *SPTol* 181a; *PL* 96, col. 122. "O quam beatus populus gradiens per desertum": *De itinere deserti*—hereafter, *ID*—17: *SPTol*, 239b; *PL* 96, col. 177. The best recent edition of these two treatises is that of Julio Campos, with translation, introduction, and notes, along with the 1971 Blanco edition of *La virginidad perpetua* (see n. 5, above) - hereafter, *BAC:SPE* 1. These passages appear in that edition on pp. 264 and 393.

cally involving the law, again civil or religious, such as the Mosaic law under which the *populus Iudaeorum* was born.⁹

Column 7 registers a sense of the destiny of the group in question, such as the prophetic consciousness of the *gentes et populi* awaiting the Savior.¹⁰ Column 8 registers genetic association: "Our Virgin is of your *gens*," Ildefonsus reminds his Jewish adversary.¹¹ Column 9 registers linguistic association, one of the standard defining attributes of the *gens* for Isidore and the classical grammarians who were his models: "*congregatis gentibus et linguis*," Ildefonsus declares, "we came and saw His glory."¹² Column 10 is for territorial association; given Ildefonsus' preferred subject matter, I have registered in this column even the celestial "*patria* of the blessed, which we can best and most swiftly attain through suffering."¹³

The last three columns, rather like the first three, are less instructive for Ildefonsus than for Augustine or Isidore, but I have kept them in this graph's base line if only as a reminder of how copious was Augustine's sense of such words' capacities, and how much narrower the usage of most Visigothic writers of Latin, even though Augustine be their prime model for style as well as thought. Column 11 registers my sense that the group in question is only part of a collectivity, either more or less favored than the organic whole, like the *plebes* of a prideful people which Ildefonsus tells us can suffer diminution through their depravity.¹⁴ Column 12 registers accidental contiguity—the group in question happens to be located somewhere, for little if any essential reason. Column 13 is the miscellaneous column, for attributes not foreseen in this design.

In the first of the referent columns, the middle set on these graphs, I have registered an abstract use of the noun in question: *e.g.*, *imperium* as the word for command, be it of nature or of God directly. The

⁹ "Cain . . . significans Iudaeorum populum primum in lege natum," CB 8: *SPTol*, 173a; *PL* 96, col. 114; *BAC:SPE* 1, p. 245. Another Augustinian exegetical topos.

¹⁰ "ille qui mittendus erat, quem gentes et populi expectabant," *PV* 5: *SPTol*, 124b; *PL* 96, col. 72; *BAC:SPE* 1, p. 78.

¹¹ "Ecce virgo nostra ex stirpe tua est, ex genere tuo est, ex radice tua est, ex gente tua est," *PV* 3: *SPTol*, 116b; *PL* 96, col. 64; *BAC:SPE* 1, p. 62.

¹² "*congregatis gentibus et linguis, venimus et vidimus gloriam eius*," *PV* 4: *SPTol*, 120a; *PL* 96, col. 67; *BAC:SPE* 1, p. 69.

¹³ "ad patriam beatorum non melius, non celerius itur quam per angustias passionum," ID 18: *SPTol*, 240a; *PL* 96, col. 177; *BAC:SPE* 1, p. 394.

¹⁴ "Certum est quod angelorum castra superbia rupit, cuneos eorum praesumptio minoravit, plebes ipsorum pravitas diminuit, turmas ipsorum elatio collisit," *PV* 10: *SPTol* 147b; *PL* 96, col. 95; *BAC:SPE* 1, p. 126.

second column registers concrete but general use: “all *gentes* now bless and jointly praise the offspring of such a mother.”¹⁵ Columns 3 through 12 are for specific concrete groups: 3 is for Israel, or the Chosen People before Christ; 4 for the Jews during or after the rejection of Christ; 5 for the Christian Church on earth; 6 for the Church in Heaven, especially after the Last Judgment or in the millennial reign of the saints (this last referent is much more important for Julian than for Ildefonsus). Column 7 is for the People or Kingdom (or whatever) of God without historical differentiation. Nouns registering their presence in this last column can easily qualify for columns 3, 5, or 6 as well, at least by contextual inference. I have frequently recorded my sense of that kind of implicit reference by a hollow bar.

The last five referent columns are for historical entities of an earthly, even secular character. Column 8 is for the Biblical Gentiles or contemporary pagan peoples; column 9 is for Rome, at any state in its history; column 10 is for Spain, again at any historical state; column 11 for the Goths, Visi- or Ostro-; and Column 12 for any other historical societies such as the *barbarae nationes* (presumably the Vandals) whose violence drove the African monk Donatus to Spain, where he founded the Servitan monastery.¹⁶

In the right-hand set of nine columns I have registered these nouns’ syntactical functions. Here the nature of Latin grammar allows the investigator a degree of objectivity beyond the reach of the classifier of referents, far beyond that of the necessarily subjective tracker of attributes. Columns 1 to 3 are for nouns in the nominative case. Column 1 is for the subjects of active verbs, like the *plebs* of Toledo which praises God along with its bishop Ildefonsus.¹⁷ Column 2 is for nouns involved with the verbs *esse* or *videri*—I have wondered if I should add *fieri* and perhaps *haberi*. Column 3 is for the subjects of

¹⁵ “Et ecce tali matre progenitum omnes gentes benedicunt, ipsumque conlaudant,” *PV* 4: *SPTol*, 120a; *PL* 96, col. 68; *BAC:SPE* 1, p. 69.

¹⁶ “Hic violentias barbararum gentium imminere conspiciens, atque ovilis dissipationem et gregis monachorum pericula pertimescens, ferme cum septuaginta monachis copiosisque librorum codicibus navali vehiculo in Hispaniam commeavit.” *De viris illustribus*—hereafter, *DVI*—4: *SPTol*, 286a; *PL* 96, col. 200.

¹⁷ “ego quoque et omnis plebs demus laudem Deo.” *Ad II Quirici epistolam responsio*: *SPTol*, 260b; *PL*, 96, col. 200. Quiricus, a disciple of Ildefonsus’ then bishop of Barcelona, would return to Toledo as Ildefonsus’ successor, so it is reasonable to suppose that this remark is likely to reveal the normal ecclesiastical usage of Ildefonsus’ circle.

passive verbs, such as all the *gentes* which are *congregatae* in the Church.¹⁸ Columns 4 and 5 register increasing modes of syntactic activity: 4 is for the ablative of agency (surprisingly rare) and 5 for the ablative absolute (as in “*spectantibus cunctarum nationibus gentium*”)¹⁹, the accusative with an infinitive, or any noun entangled in any case with a participial or gerundive construction. The altitude of that column on our graphic horizon suggests how much Ildefonsus enjoyed that grammatical game.

With column 6 we move to several modes of passivity distinguished by the grammatical tradition. Column 6 itself is for objects of transitive verbs. Column 7 registers objects of prepositions; column 8 is for nouns in genitive constructions. This is the most densely populated column of all, accounting for some 30% of the 119 appearances of these nouns in these works. Column 9 is for nouns in the dative, and most uses of the ablative.

The five works in which I have subjected those seven nouns to this technique of subjective quantification represent an interesting range of generic convention and purpose. The two treatises *De cognitione baptismi* and *De itinere deserti* were meant as two halves of one book, according to Julian; nevertheless, they represent two distinct varieties of Patristic exegesis. *De cognitione baptismi* is a fairly systematic summary of the faith into which new citizens of the Church were baptized, in which they became *competentes*. Its core is a commentary on the evolving Creed (the *Symbolus*) the exact formulation of which so concerned several Councils of Toledo.²⁰ That Creed was the basic citizenship-test of the Visigothic Church-State, without acceptance of which, competence in which, no subject could qualify for participation in the civil life of seventh-century Spain. The sequel is an alle-

¹⁸ “Congregatae sunt omnes gentes in nomine huius domini in medio Jerusalem, quae est visio pacis, id est, Ecclesia universalis,” *PV* 4: *SPTol*, 120a; *PL* 96, col. 67; *BAC:SPE* 1, p. 69 (cf. n. 5 *supra*).

¹⁹ “et veridicum ius veritatis meae coram Domino et angelis eius in foro orbis terrarum, spectantibus cunctarum nationibus gentium, in eorum testium fidem proponere,” *PV* 6: *SPTol*, 128b; *PL* 96, col. 76; *BAC:SPE* 1, p. 87.

²⁰ Cf. Madoz, “San Ildefonso,” 483-84, and his *Le Symbole du XI^e concile de Tolède* (Louvain: *Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense* 19, 1938), 1-6, 130-33. For the distinctively Augustinian character—the distinctive Trinitarian focus—of that Council’s *Symbolus*, an influence mediated through the doctrine of Ildefonsus, who had died just nine years before and whose disciple Quiricus was then bishop of Toledo, see pp. 133, 137-38, 140-44. On the consequences for political participation of such professions of faith, see my “Ideology and the Requirements of ‘Citizenship’ in Visigothic Spain: The Case of the *Judaei*,” *Societas* 2 (1972), 317-32.

gorical exegesis of several themes, topics, and figures in Exodus: the title's *Desert* is of course the world through which the Church advances on a thoroughly Augustinian pilgrimage. The style of both these treatises alternates between matter-of-fact exposition and bursts of rhetorical ecstasy. They share that stylistic feature although the treatise on baptism, an instructional manual for the indoctrination of the whole community of the baptized, is in large part a compilation of Patristic sources, whereas the meditation on pilgrimage through the desert of this world, presumably intended for the contemplative elite, is much less dependent on the texts of the Fathers.²¹

The fourteen short chapters which Ildefonsus contributed to the ongoing *De viris illustribus* genre are strikingly plain by contrast with the exegetical diptych. Despite their brevity and simplicity, one should consult them in any search for Ildefonsus' civic sentiments: thirteen of the fourteen illustrious holy men are Spanish (one of them by adoption), and seven are bishops of Ildefonsus' native city, Toledo, which he held in very high esteem. In the preface he calls the *Toletana urbs* "glorious (*gloriosam*); ..And I call it glorious," he explains in a digression untypical of that spare work, "not from its immense concourse of people, which it owes to the illustrious presence of the glorious Sovereigns (*Principum*), but because for those who fear God, both the unjust and the just, it is considered an awesome place (*locus terribilis*), elevated by every kind of veneration."²² Ildefonsus felt the civic sentiment at least of local patriotism. His voice should be listened to in any search for the local variant of patriotic sentiment.

Ildefonsus' two surviving, safely attributable letters bear direct testimony to his activity as ranking (I had almost said reigning) bishop of the Spanish Church. Although only two such letters survive, it is startling indeed to discover that only one of this study's seven nouns, words usually hard at work conveying several varieties of political, social, community-conscious meaning in Patristic and medieval correspondence, appears: *viz.*, *plebs*. It is the designation for Ildefonsus' own Church, presumably that of Toledo as a whole rather than the

²¹ Madoz, "San Ildefonso," 482.

²² "indignus satis et absque substantia totius boni operis, successorque sanctae memoriae alterius Eugenii factus in Sede illa gloriosa Toletanae urbis (quam non ex hominum immenso conventu gloriosam dico, cum hanc et gloriosorum illustret praesentia Principum, sed ex hoc, quod coram timentibus Dominum iniquis atque iustis habetur locus terribilis, omnique veneratione sublimis) conatus sum," *DVI* praefatio: *SPTol*, 282b; *PL* 96, col. 197.

liturgical community of the cathedral of Saint Mary (though that distinction is less than firm).²³

By far the most famous and stylistically the most remarkable of Ildefonsus' works is his extended oration *De perpetua virginitate beatae Mariae, contra infideles tres*.²⁴ Widely copied and imitated for the greater part of a millennium, it has generated a rich and tangled manuscript tradition, bristling with paleographic challenges. It is cast as a courtroom defense of Mary's virginity against three adversaries, two from the fourth-century past and one contemporary, an anonymous, perhaps merely stereotypical Jewish polemicist. It is among other things a rhetorical exercise, displaying at every turn Ildefonsus' familiarity with the conventions of classical forensic rhetoric.²⁵

Perhaps the most distinctive stylistic device of this set piece is what Madoz calls "the rhetoric of synonyms." One good example, of prime relevance to my enquiry, occurs at the opening of chapter III:

²³ "Ego et omnis plebs demus laudem Deo," cited above in n. 17. The fragments of Ildefonsus' correspondence survive in an exchange with his disciple Quiricus: *SPTol*, 256-60; *PL* 96, cols. 193-96. One of the Mozarabic hymns frequently attributed to Ildefonsus is the hymn "Plebe Deo dicata pollens" for the feast of Cosmas and Damian, the patron saints of Ildefonsus' Toledan monastery of Agali. This is at least a suggestive coincidence, perhaps lending credence to that attribution. See Braegelmann, 154, 158; Madoz, "San Ildefonso," 501 (with useful reference to the speculations of Férotin, De Bruyne, and Pérez de Urbel); and Rivera Recio, 222-23.

²⁴ *SPTol*, 107-61; *PL* 96, cols. 53-110. It is also available in the superior, recent edition of V. Blanco García in *BAC:SPE* 1, pp. 43-154; see n. 5 above.

²⁵ "Sed vellem plane contra sacrilegium et perfidiam tuam veritatis huius negotium partis meae adsertoribus intimare, et veridicum ius veritatis meae coram Domino et angelis eius in foro orbis terrarum, expectantibus cunctarum nationibus gentium, meorum testium fidem proponere." "But against your sacrilegious untrustworthiness I wish openly to establish the solid position of my client; I wish to present the truth-conveying rightness of my truth and the reliable testimony thereto of my witnesses in the open forum of the whole world before the Lord and His angels, in the presence of all the nations of the Gentiles," (*PV* 6: *SPTol*, 128b; *PL* 96, col. 76; *BAC:SPE* 1, p. 87).

For a classic *insultatio-supplicatio-insultatio* sequence: "Ac per hoc ita iudiciorum regulas rumpas, ut de electione feras libitum, non de iusta disceptatione iudicium. Non enim quod debes, sed quod placet dicis; neque quod inveniatur sed quod operari veritatem opponis. Dum publicae veritati non credis, et hanc in abditis quaeris, dum per semetipsam, quid verum sit, de se veritas clamat," (*SPTol* 130a; *PL* 96, col. 67; *BAC:SPE* 1, p. 90); that is, "And through this [refusal to admit testimony] you so break the rules of judicial argument that you get from the encounter a limitation of the points under dispute which suits you rather than a judgment legitimately awarded. You say not what you ought, but what you please; your allegations obscure the truth rather than discover it. And all the while you will not publicly believe the truth [or, to translate a play on words, 'trust the public truth'] but seek it in your secret thoughts, while that truth proclaims by virtue of its own existence what is true," Cf. *PV* 8 (*SPTol* 137b, 139b-140a; *PL* 96, cols. 85-87; *BAC:SPE* 1, pp. 88-92) and 9 (*SPTol* 142b-143a; *PL* 96, col. 90; *BAC:SPE* 1, pp. 114-15, 117-18) for more courtroom debate.

What do you have to say, O Jew: *Quid dicis, Iudae? quid proponis? quid adstruis? quid obiicis? quid obiectas?* Behold, our Virgin is of your stock: *Ecce virgo nostra ex stirpe tua est, ex genere tuo est, ex radice tua est, ex gente tua est, ex populo tuo est, ex plebe tua est, ex natione tua est, ex origine tuo est.* Nevertheless she is of our faith: *Verumtamen ex fide nostra est, ex credulitate nostra est, ex assensu nostra est, ex reverentia nostra est, ex honorificentia nostra est, ex laude nostra est, ex glorificatione nostra est, ex dilectione nostra est, ex amore nostra est, ex praeconio nostra est, ex defensione nostra est, ex vindicatione nostra est.*²⁶

Five verbs yielding to eight group nouns, which yield to thirteen nouns of sentient condition: *luculentior sermo*, indeed!

The problem with this device is not merely that it buffets the twentieth-century ear as heavy-handed overkill. While it certainly displays the author's lexical range, his thesaurus-like virtuosity, it may lead one to wonder whether the individual nouns in those cascades had much in the way of distinctive meaning for our author.²⁷

Ildefonsus shows elsewhere a taste for precise lexical distinctions, however. Chapter 76 of *De cognitione baptismi* is entitled "The difference between *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*."

Synagoga means *congregatio* in Greek. The Jewish people (*populus*) has held on to that term . . . although it could equally well be called *Ecclesia*. Our Apostles, however, never said *Synagoga* but only *Ecclesia*, either for the sake of making some distinction or because there is a certain difference between a *congregatio* (whence *Synagoga*) and a *convocatio* (whence the name of *Ecclesia*): that is, beasts are wont to congregate, whence we refer to them as flocks (*greges*), whereas being called together is rather the property of creatures making use of reason, such as man.²⁸

This distinction, which comes *verbatim* from Isidore's *Etymologies*, is as neat as it is polemically convenient. It reveals a respect for the Latin grammatical genre of *differentiae* as well as for Isidore's authoritative

²⁶ PV 3: *SPTol*, 116b; *PL* 96, col. 64; *BAC:SPE* pp. 1, 62.

²⁷ Not without reason was this treatise sometimes entitled *Liber Synonymorum* in the manuscript tradition. Braegelmann (152-53), Madoz ("San Ildefonso," 489-90, 499), Blanco García (161), and Rivera Recio (123-24, 162-64, 167-68) have discussed this stylistic feature, which at least since Isidore of Seville's *Synonyma* had carried overtones of mystical discourse.

²⁸ "Synagoga graece congregatio dicitur. Quod proprium nomen Iudaeorum populus tenuit: ipsorum enim proprie Synagoga dici solet; quamvis et ecclesia dicta sit. Nostram vero Apostoli nunquam Synagogam dixerunt, sed semper Ecclesiam; sive discernendi causa, sive quod inter congregationem, unde Synagoga, et convocationem, unde Ecclesia nomen accipit, distat aliquid: quod scilicet congregari et pecora solent, quorum et greges proprie dicimus; convocari autem maius est utentium ratione, sicut sunt homines." CB 76: *SPTol*, 198a; *PL* 96, col. 139; *BAC:SPE* 1, pp. 304-05. Its *verbatim* source is Isidore's *Etymologiae* VIII, i, 7-8.

encyclopedia, a respect which should not be surprising in one who reported that Isidore's rhetoric was so admirably opulent that his audience was wont to fall into states of immobile stupefaction!²⁹ The reasoning Ildefonsus adopts to establish this *differentia* incidentally validates the hermeneutical mode in which which my research seeks to analyze the category of political grammar it posits.

Ildefonsus' closeness to his sources has been lovingly and thoroughly documented by A. Braegelmann,³⁰ but it is important to recognize as well that he regularly perceived the distance between at least his Biblical sources and his own utterance. This sense of perspective, almost worthy of the Renaissance, presents itself constantly throughout his work. In the catalogue of prophetic texts that constitutes chapter 4 of *De perpetua virginitate*, he says, for example, "we assert with Jeremiah"; "hear the Lord proclaim in Deuteronomy"; and "what lie have they spoken if not what we read in Jeremiah's words";³¹ and so on. This connective tissue between Scriptural texts is often no more than an "*Item Esaias*," or "*Item in Osee*," but it is present regularly enough, in the pair of exegetical treatises as well as in *De perpetua virginitate*, to make it abundantly clear that Ildefonsus did not regularly confuse his sources—his Biblical sources, at any rate—with his own language.

For all these features of what the Spanish critical tradition enjoys calling an author's *personalidad literaria* (or *históricoliteraria*, as Madoz preferred), Ildefonsus is a rewarding author for the kind of grammatical analysis I propose. The potential fruitfulness of this method emerges clearly from even a brief a brief presentation of four of the preliminary results of my analysis.

(1) A glance at the graphs will show that the usage patterns of *gens* and *populus* are more diffuse in *De perpetua virginitate* than in the other works. The range of *regnum* is about the same throughout, which may make it a useful control case. Given the excess of the "rhetoric of synonyms" in the forensic exercise, do these profiles not suggest that the frequency-rich exegetical diptych is the prime place to look for Ildefonsus' normal sense of these words' meaning—particularly given his clear sense of the distance between his Biblical sources and his own *sermo*? If the profile of a word in the largely independent *De itinere*

²⁹ DVI 9: SPTol, 288a; PL 96, col. 202.

³⁰ Braegelmann, 67, 98; Madoz, 380. On Ildefonsus' heavy dependence on Patristic sources in *De cognitione baptismi*, see Campos in BAC:SPE 1, pp. 238-39.

³¹ SPTol, 120a-121a; PL 96, cols. 68-69; BAC:SPE 1, pp. 70-72.

deserti corresponds to its profile in the treatise on baptism, so heavily dependent on Patristic texts, and finds parallel shape in the long treatise on Mary's virginity, we can count on that pattern as an authentic index of the way Ildefonsus wove his sources and 'original' lexical choices into the fabric of his language.³²

(2) A striking feature of the right-hand set of graphs is the comparatively high degree of syntactical activity *populus*, *gens*, and *regnum* enjoy in Ildefonsus' works. Entirely normal in Scriptural usage (both Hebrew and Greek, interestingly enough!), this feature is strongly at variance with the usage of Julian of Toledo, an author even more classical in impulse than Ildefonsus, as well as with later medieval and Renaissance writers on political subjects, ranging all the way from Suger of Saint-Denis³³ to Niccoló Machiavelli.³⁴ This is an aspect of comparative grammar meriting much further study. At this juncture, I think it helps us see Ildefonsus as a writer equipped with a thoroughgoing training in classical grammar and rhetoric—exceptionally so for his century in Western Europe—and yet thoroughly Scriptural in mentality. How does one demonstrate a *mentalité*? May this technique be one way to begin?

(3) Ildefonsus' otherworldliness of mind is emphasized by a look at the range of referents for these nouns. The middle graph columns and the examples I have cited in illustrating this method indicate that Ildefonsus seems positively to avoid contemporary civil or secular allusion and reference in using these nouns. *Gentes* for him were normally Gentile, then Jewish, usually groups from Biblical history.³⁵ *Nationes* seem nearly interchangeable with *gentes*, but can also be Christian. The *patria* is celestial 75% of the time, and the exception occurs in a Psalm citation from *De perpetua virginitate*—the paucity of

³² Rivera Recio insists on the highly "personal style" of *De perpetua virginitate* (171-72), concurring with the judgments of José Madoz (499) and Jocelyn Hillgarth ("Autores cristianos citados por San Ildefonso," *Anales Toledanos* 3 (1971) 113-18) that this treatise is uncommonly free of dependence on Patristic sources.

³³ See my "The Political Grammar of Julian of Toledo," cited in n. 4 above, and my "The *Regnum Francie* of Suger of Saint-Denis: An Expanding Ile-de-France," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 19 (Spring, 1993) 167-88, esp. 179-80.

³⁴ See J. H. Hexter, "*Il principe* and *lo stato*," *Studies in the Renaissance*, ed. M. A. Shaaber (New York, 1947), 113-38, and "The Loom of Language and the Fabric of Imperatives: The Case of *Il Principe* and *Utopia*," *American Historical Review* 69 (1964) 945-68.

³⁵ It is instructive to compare Alberto Ferreiro's observations concerning the *gentes* of Leander of Seville in his "*Linguarum diversitate*: Babel and Pentecost in Leander's Homily at the Third Council of Toledo," *Concilio III de Toledo: XIV Centenario, 589-1989*, 243-44.

occurrences may make these last two observations statistically invalid, but they seem eloquent nonetheless. *Populus* is first of all the Chosen People before Christ, then the Christian Church, then *populi* in general terms, then (admittedly a bit far down the list), the Augustinian *populus Dei*. *Regnum* is the Kingdom of God by a landslide, then the Christian Church here below or above, and only then the Jewish kingdom in distant better days. Perhaps most startling is that *imperium* is always abstract.

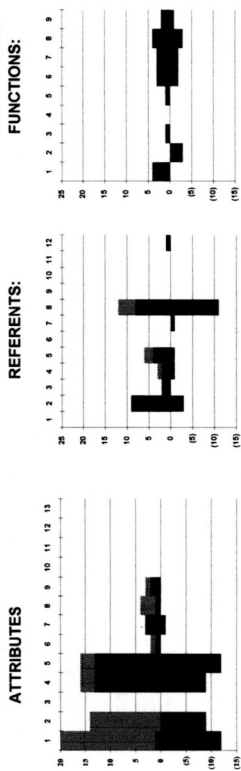
(4) Why this avoidance of contemporary political reference? There is a long tradition that as head of the Spanish Church Ildefonsus had a hard time with King Recceswinth³⁶, but Ildefonsus refers not infrequently to the Sovereigns, the *Principes*, the imperial title Visigothic monarchs were growing ever fonder of. It is interesting to see how he at times avoids calling their state either a *regnum* or an *imperium*: one delightful instance is his explanation of the elm tree in the desert as *potentia secularis*, which can extend the shade of its protection over the pilgrim people even though it bears no fruit itself.³⁷ To my eyes that seems a nervous affirmation, the authentic voice of an instinctive ascetic whose relations with the Visigothic royal power were typified by *violentia principalis* in fact as well as in Julian's rhetorical convention. Ildefonsus was a man who loved classical literature, but in deeper reflex, even grammatical reflex, he was a true Augustinian, a citizen of the City of God in its *peregrinatio*. This perception, fundamental to the signification of his language, may well rise from the text to the reader's mind without the benefit (as some may object) of all this number-crunching; yet its value is certainly not lessened when demonstrated by a grammatical analysis rather than merely intuited. I have the feeling that Ildefonsus would have appreciated the effort.

³⁶ "Principalis post haec violentia Toletum reducitur, atque inibi post Decessoris sui obitum Pontifex subrogatur," *SPTol*, 95a; *PL* 96, col. 44. On this tradition, which Rivera Recio and Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz prefer to date from the ninth or even tenth century, transmitted by one Cixila—or possibly Helladius—who is likely not the metropolitan bishop by the former name (*PL* 96, col. 46), see Rivera Recio, 9 (n. 7), 47–50 and Braegelmann, 5, 17–20. Modern scholars as weighty as Felix Dahn (*Die Könige der Germanen* V, 200) and Karl Zeumer ("Geschichte der westgotischen Gesetzgebung," *Neues Archiv* 23 (1898) 2, 485) have seen fit to take this tradition seriously, however.

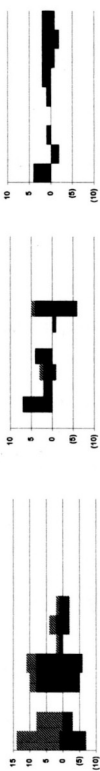
³⁷ "Ulmus potentiae secularis, quae terrenis curis inserviens, licet nullum fructum inferat virtutis spiritalis, sanctos tamen viros donis spiritalibus plenos sua largitate sustentans, quasi vitem cum fructibus condigna portat," *ID* 40: *SPTol*, 243b; *PL* 96, col. 181; *BAC:SPE* 1, p. 405. On this gem of Ildefonsian exegesis, see Braegelmann, 107.

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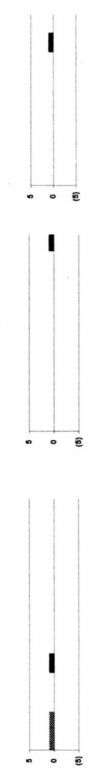
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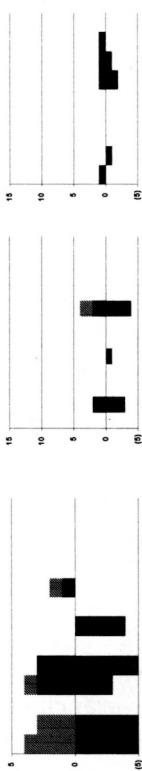
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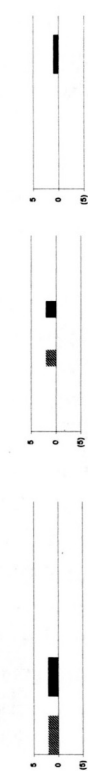
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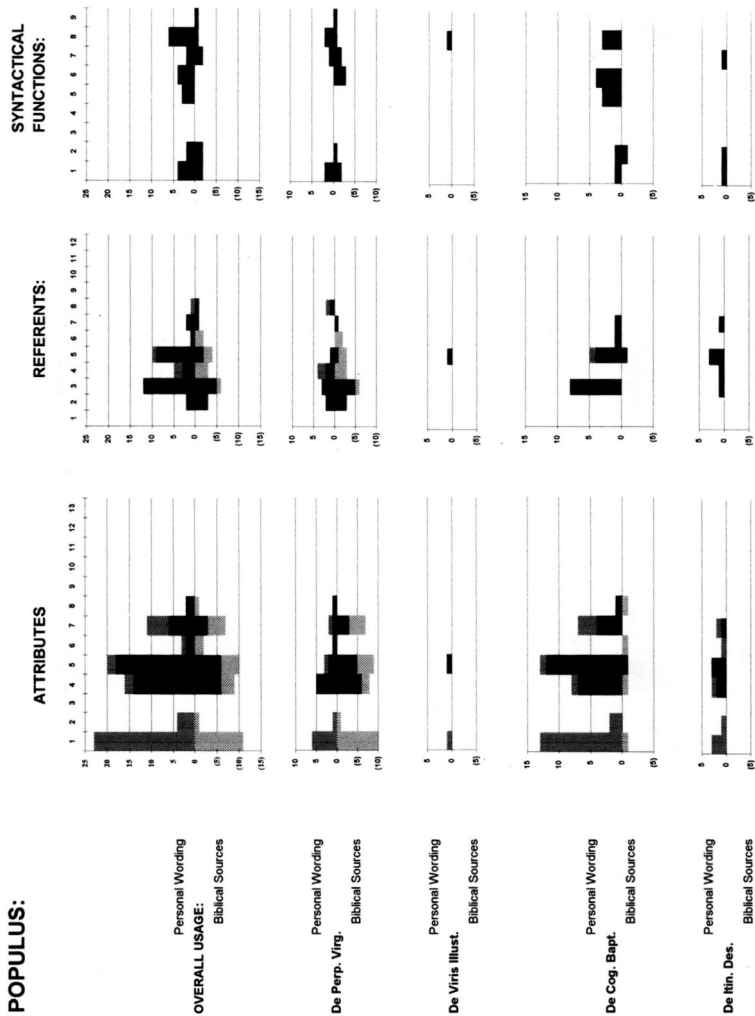


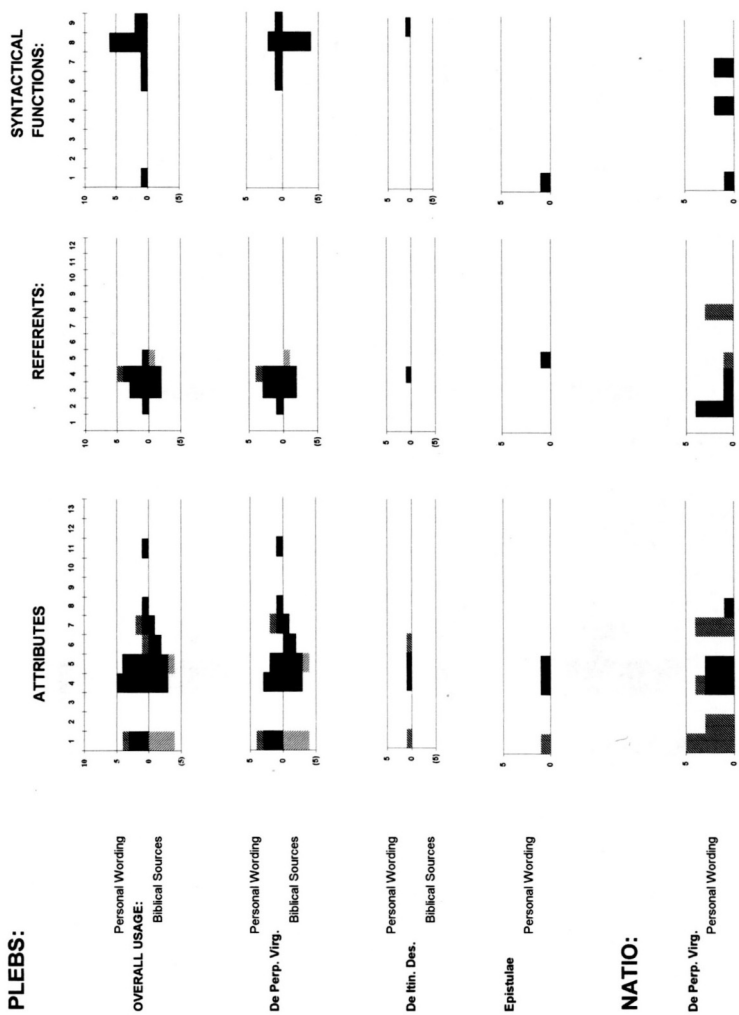
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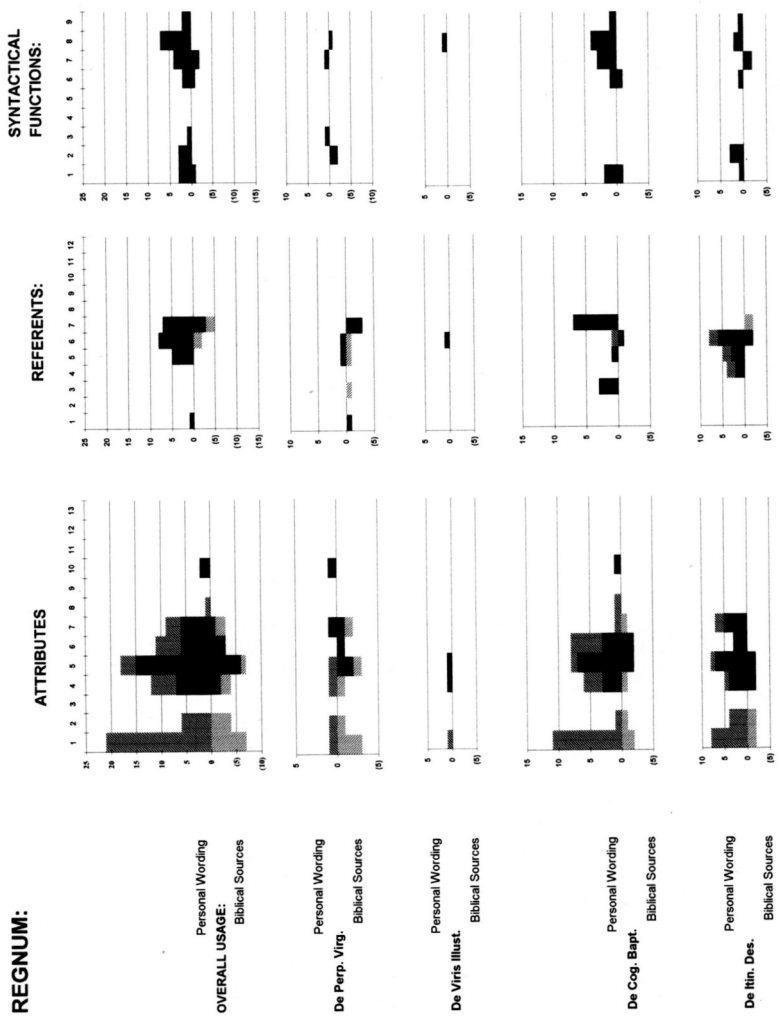


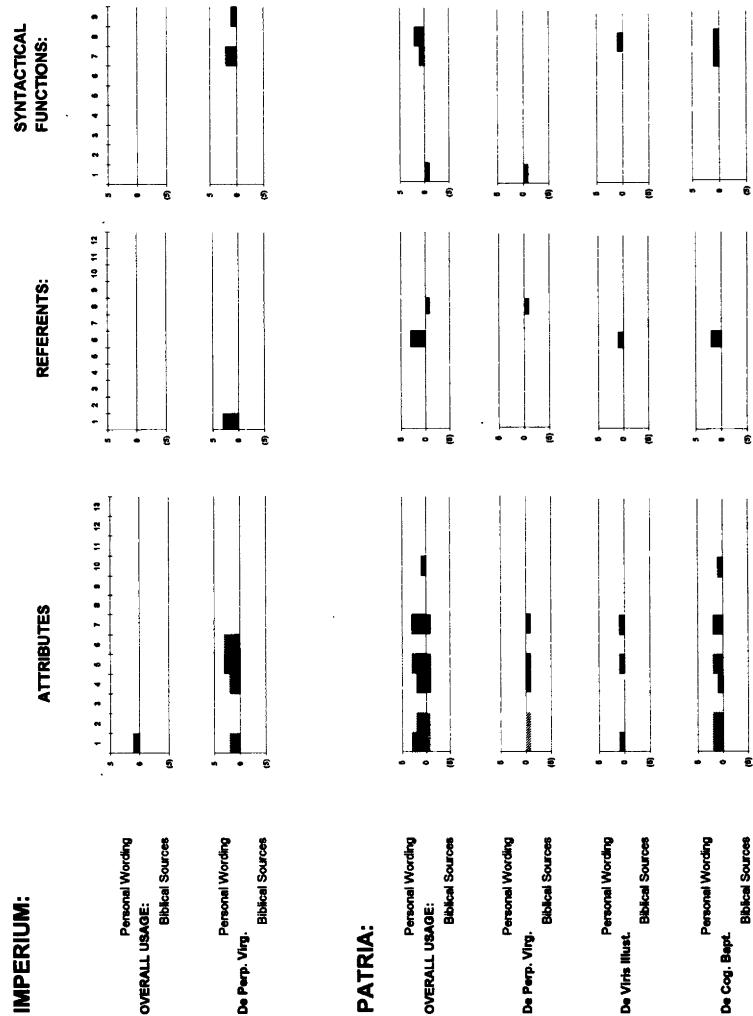
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CHAPTER SIX

MONASTICISM AND LITURGY IN VISIGOTHIC SPAIN

Pablo C. Díaz

A. Monasticism

The conformation and consolidation of a Visigothic monarchy and monasticism in Hispania in the sixth and seventh centuries can be analyzed as two separate processes, different in nature, detached by functionality, and nevertheless concurrent in time. We can likewise take into account that Hispanic monasticism of these centuries was immersed in the same basic problems as the Visigothic society which surrounded it: a first century of assimilation of influences, and after the conversion of the kingdom to Catholicism, a period of creativity and normative consolidation that only the Moslem invasion in 711 would interrupt, thus putting an end to the Visigothic kingdom.

I. Hispanic monasticism in the sixth century: the assimilation of influences

Evidence of Hispanic monasticism prior to the sixth century is comparatively poor. It is true that, in some cases, our limited references can be integrated into the generic trends of the age, into what we could define as orthodoxy, as is the case of the monks from the Tarraconensis. The monks' indiscipline and conditions in which monks can be promoted to the clerical order led bishop Himerius from Tarragona consult Pope Siricius in the last years of the fourth century.¹ The same could be said with regard to the two brief references that bishop Severus made around 417, about the conversion of the Jews from Mahon, whose circumstances could be compared with those of the other more or less articulated cenobitical communities which had selected the Balearic Islands in the Western Mediterranean for their establishment.²

¹ Siricii, *Ep.* III, 6 and 13 (*Migne Patrologia Latina*= PL 13, 1131-35.).

² Cf. G. Seguí Vidal. *La carta encíclica del obispo Severo*. Roma-Mallorca, 1937, pp. 156 and 174. J. Amengual (ed.). *Consenci. Correspondencia amb Sant Agusti. I*. Barcelona,

However, the evolution of the first Hispanic monastic experience was deeply influenced by the Priscillianistic phenomenon. The first time that the term *monachus* appears is in the Council of Zaragoza in 380, and it does so in a context of Priscillianistic reprobation.³ In the same way, Baquiarus, the first author to use the term *monasterium*, about 410, was also suspected of Priscillianistic tendencies, and it seems that this was the reason he was forced to leave Galicia.⁴ These sources do not imply that Priscillianism exhausted the ascetic experience nor, of course, the manifestations of monastic life, but it is probable that in many areas it engendered suspicions which did not facilitate its development. Still, the political instability of the fifth century and the social vicissitudes plaguing the Iberian Peninsula during that period could not have encouraged either the stability of the communities or institutional development.

At the beginning of the sixth century the situation changed. A period in which most sources regarding continuity had been lost was followed by another one with a relative abundance of documentation, which in addition coincided with the resumption of conciliar activity. Simultaneously, a political event occurred that was to mark the history of Iberia in the following two centuries. Already beginning at the end of 506, but definitively after the defeat at Vouillé in 507, the Visigoths, pushed by the Franks, were to take the definitive step for their settlement in Hispania. The consolidation process of the Toledan kingdom would be slow, taking nearly a century, and stability and the principle of sovereignty were long-term developments. Curiously enough, monasticism seems to have followed a parallel trend, with disparate lines of influence, and diverse experiences which showed all their strength in the following century. These would act as a melting pot for the gestation of the creative force that seems evident especially from 589, when, after their conversion to Catholicism, the Visigothic monarchy lived its strongest moment.

The first great influence registered by Visigothic monasticism can be sought, in view of mere chronology, precisely in Gaul, and per-

pp. 38-84. R. Van Dam, 'Sheep in Wolves' Clothing: The Letters of Consentius to Augustine,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 37 (1986) 515-35.

³ Cf. M.C. Díaz y Díaz, 'A propósito del Concilio de Zaragoza del 380 y su canon VI,' in *I Concilio Caesaraugustano. MDC aniversario*. Zaragoza, 1981, pp. 225-35.

⁴ *De reparatione lapsi ad Januarium* 16: *Ingredere monasterii tui carcerem, et tenebras solitudinis quibus ac lucem prediam renoceris exquire* (PL 20, 1037-62). H. Chadwick. *Priscillian of Avila*. Oxford, 1976, pp. 223-24.

haps it is only a coincidence that it was to arrive to Iberia at the same time as the rise of the new political order. In 516 the Council of Tarragona, in its canon 11, established that the prescriptions in the canons of Gallic churches must be followed when the aim was to regulate the activities of the monks outside the monastery and the obedience owed to the abbot.⁵ Moreover, some years later, in 546, canon 3 of Lérida established that, regarding monks, the decrees of the Council of Orleans (511), and the Council of Agde (506), were to be followed.⁶ In this case we find a precise summary of the level reached by Hispanic monasticism, at least in the Northeastern part of the Peninsula, in the province Tarraconensis, in the middle of the sixth century. The canon reads:

*that with the permission of the abbot those who were approved by the bishop for this office must be ordained priests for the use of the Church. The goods that are offered to the monastery are not subject in any way to the diocesan administration of the bishop. And should any layman wish to consecrate a basilica built by himself, he dare not withdraw it from the general regime of the diocese, under the pretext of being a monastery, if there is no religious community living there under a rule approved by the bishop.*⁷

In this text we can clearly see some of the elements that were to define the subsequent monastic tradition: the disciplinary submission to the bishop, and, in contrast, the patrimonial independence of the monasteries. These are elements that may well come from the Gallic influence of John Cassian and Caesarius of Arles, as sources for the rule which the bishop must approve.⁸ We have no evidence of the use of a specific text and it is highly probable that what was used was a *codex regularum*, a book of rules, although one must keep in mind the influence the texts of Caesarius would have upon the Hispanic rules of the following century, and the fact that he was entrusted by Pope

⁵ No doubt it refers to canons 19 to 22 from the Council of Orleans, a. 511; cf. G. Martínez Díez, F. Rodríguez. *La colección canónica Hispana. IV. Concilios galos, concilios hispanos: Primera parte*. Madrid, 1984, p. 278.

⁶ G. Martínez Díez, F. Rodríguez. *La colección*, p. 301. The reference would be made to the same canons of the reference above and to 27 of Agde.

⁷ *Conc. Ilerd.*, a. 546, c. 3: *...ut pro ecclesiae utilitate quos episcopus probaverit in clericatus officio cum abbatis voluntate debeant ordinari. Ea vero quae in iure monasterii de facultatibus offeruntur, in nullo dioecisana lege ab episcopis contingantur. Si autem ex laicis quisquam a se factam basilicam consecrari desiderat, nequaquam sub monasterii specie, ubi congregatio non colligitur vel regula ab episcopo non constituitur, ea a dioecisana lege audeat segregare.*

⁸ For a treatment of Gallic monasticism, see the still essential Ch. Courtois, "L'évolution du monachisme en Gaule de St. Martin á Colomban," *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studio sull'Alto Medioevo IV*, 1956. Spoleto, 1957, pp. 47-72.

Symmachus with the office of Vicar of the provinces of Gaul and Hispania.⁹

Fortunately we have specific information on this monastic reality which in the conciliar texts seems to appear as abstract regulations. This has to do with the foundations carried out by Victorianus of Asan. An anonymous epitaph kept in an eleventh century Visigothic manuscript implies that Victorianus, probably starting from Asan, founded numerous monasteries in the Pyrenees and in other territories throughout Hispania and Gaul.¹⁰ The reference reveals something already known: the community of monks had manifold relationships which existed within the Pyrenean region for some time, and the mountain range did not isolate them from the rest of Hispania. Moreover, a Gallic origin for Victorianus is likely which means that a monastic "colonization" came from the north, although in this case the only reference that supports this hypothesis is the praise that Venantius Fortunatus sings of him in a poem.¹¹

The unquestionable reference to Gaul in Venantius is not the only one, but it is one that shows sixth century Gallic influence that shaped Hispanic monasticism. Shortly before the Council of Lérida referred to the rules that had emanated from the Gallic councils with regard to monks and monasteries—just like the Council of Tarragona did in 516—the Council of Barcelona (540), in canon 10, established: *de monachis vero id observari praecipimus, quod synodus Chalcedonensis constituit* (As for the monks, we order what the Chalcedonian Council promulgated be observed).¹² If we consider the fact that the two councils were provincial ones, and even that both of these were chaired by the same bishop, the metropolitan Sergius, we have to understand that these recommendations are not opposing ones, but

⁹ Cf. A. Mundó, "Il monachesimo nella Penisola Iberica fino al sec. VII. Questioni ideologiche e letterarie," *Settimana di Studio IV*. pp. 95-98; J. Pérez de Urbel. *Los monjes españoles en la Edad Media. I*. Madrid, 1933, p. 496; A. Linage Conde. *Los orígenes del monacato benedictino en la Península Ibérica. I. El monacato hispano prebenedictino*. León, 1973, pp. 272-74. Ep. 9 (PL 62, 66).

¹⁰ Cf. J. Vives. *Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda*. Barcelona, 1942, p. 89, n° 284: *...augmine multa monachorum Iberiam Galliasque replebit cellas senioresque probos sanctitate re (?) prefecit...*

¹¹ On this particular point, see J. Fontaine, "Société et culture chrétiennes sur l'aire circumpyrénéenne au siècle de Théodose," *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* 75 (1974) 241-82. *Carm.* IV, 11 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica auctores antiquissimi*=MGH aa IV, 1, p. 87).

¹² Cf. J. Vives. *Concilios visigóticos e hispanorromanos*. Barcelona-Madrid, 1963, p. 53.

rather a search for solutions in different places in order to solve increasing problems which grew more complicated day by day.

Even so, influence from the East was not limited to conciliar canons which may have passed from hand to hand as a part of the canonical legislation, especially in the case of the Chalcedonian Council, which was accepted nearly as a whole by the western churches. The East was the cradle of anchoritism and of the first cenobites, whose lives had been translated into Latin early on and had reached great popularity in the West. Avitus of Braga, Egeria and Hydatius had already traveled to the East from the fifth and sixth centuries. Perhaps even the aforementioned Baquiarus as well when he left Galicia, and Turribius of Astorga, who stated he had been far away from his homeland for a long time, may have gone to the eastern provinces.¹³ John of Biclar surely did so in the sixth century, a trip recorded by Isidore.¹⁴ These travelers were able to obtain and assimilate ecclesiastical influences that would later materialize, on their return to the West, into a specific monastic experience.

This experience could have been brought as well by eastern travelers coming to the West, even to the unsafe Hispania of the fifth century, as the Galician bishop Hydatius noted in his chronicle.¹⁵ However, the best known of these travelers coming from the East was the Pannonian Martin of Braga, who arrived in Galicia about the year 550, where he preached the Catholic faith and was responsible for the Suevic conversion to Catholicism.¹⁶ We are here interested in his role as founder of monasteries near Braga—in particular the monastery of Dumium—and above all in tracing which were the eastern monastic ideals and influences he transmitted.¹⁷

Martin translated from Greek into Latin a collection of sentences by the Fathers of the Egyptian Desert, at the same time that he put

¹³ *Ep. ad Idacium et Ceponium* 2 (PL 54, 693).

¹⁴ *De uir. ill.* 31.

¹⁵ *Chron.* 106. For the best documented case of Gaul see E. Griffe. *La Gaule chrétienne à l'époque romaine. III. La cité chrétienne*. Paris, 1965, pp. 324-26.

¹⁶ About the reasons for his travel, see A. Ferreiro, "The westward journey of Martin of Braga," *Studia Monastica* 22, 2 (1980) 243-51; *id.*, "The missionary labors of St. Martin of Braga in 6th century Galicia," *Studia Monastica* 23, 1 (1981) 11-26, where he deals with wider themes.

¹⁷ *Isid.*, *De uir. ill.* 22. See *Conc. Tolet.* X, a. 656, where the foundation is mentioned in relation to Martin's testament.

Paschasius, a monk at the monastery, in charge of a translation of the *Vitae Patrum*.¹⁸ These texts cannot be considered as monastic Rules, but no doubt they served as a model and spiritual guide for the converts who entered Dumium and the monasteries to be founded under its jurisdiction.

It is difficult to state clearly the importance of this influence; the literary fascination of eastern asceticism did not provoke an automatic response, which would have been impossible because of the environmental and sociological conditions.¹⁹ This fact would not have been ignored by Martin, who must have known the monastic models North of the Pyrenees.²⁰

In the case of *Gallaecia*, in the seventh century, about which there is extensive documentation of a widely implanted monastic reality, we see how the eastern model had been left on a distant utopian horizon, while the local realities prevailed, giving birth to varieties of monasticism with a strong regional emphasis.²¹ Regarding these eastern influences, one could mention the possibility that the monastery of Agde had been founded by easterners. On this particular little more can be argued than the eastern character of Saints Cosmas and Damian, to whom it is dedicated, together with the Greek origin of the name Eladius or the term Agali itself.²² But neither should we look here, as in the reference already mentioned in the case of Chalcedon, in the evocations of the rules of Pachomius or Basilus found in the seventh century rules, for an importation of eastern structures, but rather only an inspiration which in many aspects became less and less specific.²³

Africa is undoubtedly a very important source for Iberian monasticism for this century. The relationships between both regions are very ancient in this case; let us not forget *Letter* 67 of Cyprian, Orosius's departure, or the letters from Augustine to Consentius, and

¹⁸ See C.W. Barlow. *Martini Episcopi Bracarensis opera omnia*. New Haven, 1950, pp. 30-51.

¹⁹ See K.S. Frank. *Grundzüge der Geschichte des christlichen Mönchtums*. Darmstadt, 1975, p. 35.

²⁰ As it can be deduced from the letters of Venantius Fortunatus: *Carm.* V, 1-2 (*MGH aa IV*, 1, pp. 101-106).

²¹ See P.C. Díaz. *Formas económicas y sociales en el monacato visigodo*. Salamanca, 1987, pp. 130-48.

²² See C. Codoñer. *El de uiris illustribus de Ildefonso de Toledo. Estudio y edición crítica*. Salamanca, 1972, p. 49.

²³ See J. Pérez de Urbel, *Los monjes*, pp. 243-45 and 496.

this influence extended into the subsequent period.²⁴ We have closer a reference in Ildephonsus of Toledo, who tells us that Donatus, threatened by the barbarians, moved from Africa to Hispania accompanied by seventy monks and abundant codices, and he settled down with the help of Minicea, a woman from a good family, with whose support he built the Servitan monastery.²⁵ Donatus would be, according to Ildephonsus, the first one to bring the practice of using a rule to Hispania.²⁶ We do not know what or which rule he is talking about, but it is highly probable that it has to do with Augustinian texts, which seem to influence the subsequent literary production of Leander and Isidore.²⁷

This African reference was doubtlessly noteworthy in the territory occupied by the Byzantines, but here we can only allege the evident influence on the writings of Leander, who crossed over to the Visigothic realm afterwards for political reasons. To what extent monastic life proliferated in this territory controlled by the orthodox Byzantines, we do not know, except for the concise epistolary references by Gregory the Great.²⁸ In any case, the whole southern Peninsula must have received this influence, and at a date probably close to when Donatus reached the area of Levante, an abbot named

²⁴ See J.M. Blázquez, "Posible origen africano del cristianismo español," *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 40 (1967) 30-50. Isidoro in *de viris illustribus*, out of 46 biographies, 10 are of African personages. See J. Fontaine. *Isidore de Seville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*. v. II. Paris, 1959, pp. 854-55.

²⁵ *De vir. ill.* 3. It would not be, as some have claimed, a reference to the Vandal invasion, but an increasing struggle, in the second half of the sixth century, between Byzantines and Berbers. See U. Domínguez del Val, "Eutropio de Valencia y sus fuentes de información," *Revista Española de Teología* XIV (1954) 371, n. 18. Its location is vague, but when Eutropius was the abbot of the monastery he had to justify himself before his own bishop, who was that of Arcavica, in Cuenca. Hence it is probable that it was placed in his territory. On the other hand, Eutropius was later elected bishop of Valencia, which would mean extensive contact with the Levantine coastal area (See reference in note above). However, in some cases attempts have been made to locate the monastery in the area occupied by the Byzantines, near Cartagena, because of the easy communications between both Byzantine shores in the Mediterranean. This is the opinion of L. Cilleruelo, "El espíritu de S. Agustín en los orígenes del monacato español," *Augustinus* 25 (1980) 140.

²⁶ Eutropius, who was the abbot of the Servitan monastery after Donatus, in its *Ep. de districtione monachorum* (ed. M.C. Díaz y Díaz. *Anecdota Wisigothica* I. Salamanca, 1958, p. 25) mentions as well a Rule: *...patres nostros qui regulam hanc secundum antiquorum normam... monasterialem regulam*.

²⁷ A. Manrique Campillo, "La Regla de S. Agustín en España durante los primeros siglos de su existencia," *Ciudad de Dios* 182 (1969) 485-513.

²⁸ See J. Vilella, "Gregorio Magno e Hispania," in *Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo*. Roma, 1991, pp. 167-86.

Nanctus came from Africa to the province Lusitania, settling down in nearby Mérida.²⁹

Of a more limited and localized nature was probably that of the Celtic influence, which seems to have affected the coast of Lugo and Asturias some time in the middle of the sixth century, prior to the Second Council of Braga of 572. This was attended by a bishop called Mailoc as the representative of the church of Britonia,³⁰ and he established a monastery/episcopate in this area, whose proliferation and survival are unknown.³¹

The effect produced by this multiplicity of influences remains to be defined. It seems, in any case, that no Rule was able to prevail, not only in all the Peninsular territory, but even in one of the large areas of influence we have described here. On the contrary, and despite the possible reference made by the Council of Lérida to the Rule authorized by the bishop or the mention of Eutropius in the *De districtione monachorum*, it seems that in a general sense the monasteries were ruled, as we have seen before, by a *codex regularum* which was consulted when it was necessary to resolve any problems, a situation that was still common in the next century.³² The Rule of Benedict of Nursia was not to be especially successful in the Iberian Peninsula early on, and it had influences from the texts by Cassian, Basil, Pachomius, Augustine, Jerome, Caesarius of Arles, among others.³³

The reference made by Isidore to a Rule worked out by John of Biclar must be understood as an adaptation for a particular monastery, of a local nature.³⁴ Its identification with the *Regula Macarii* or

²⁹ *Vit. Sanct. Patr. Emer.* III., where the arrival is dated in times of Leovigild, therefore after 567 and prior to 586.

³⁰ See A. Tovar, "Un obispo de nombre británico y los orígenes de la diócesis de Mondoñedo," *Habis* III (1972) 155-58. A recent state of the question is in A. Ferreiro, "A Reconsideration of Celtic Tonsures and the *Ecclesia Britonensis* in the Hispano Roman-Visigothic Councils," *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* 23 (1991) 1-10, where the author highlights what we know for certain about the Celtic communities of *Gallaecia*, and it includes an up-to-date bibliography.

³¹ *Parr. Suev.* XIII, 1: *Ad sedem Britonorum ecclesias que sunt intro Britones una cum monasterio Maximi et qui in Asturiis sunt* (*Corpus Christianorum, serie latina*=CCL CLXXV, p. 420).

³² In *Ep.* II by Braulio of Zaragoza we still can read: *Quaternionem regularum per Maurentionem primicerium direximus.*

³³ Influences that can be appreciated in the Hispanic rules of the following century. See J. Pérez de Urbel, *Los monjes*, p. 496; A. Linage Conde, *Los orígenes*, pp. 272-74.

³⁴ *De uir. ill.* 31: *...scripsit regulam ipsi monasterio profuturam....*

even with the *Regula Magistri* is no more than coincidental and not based on reliable evidence.³⁵

In contrast to this ambiguity, peculiar to a formative process, and one which would still continue during the following century with strong marked regional manifestations, the monasticism of the sixth century did have mechanisms for dealing with problems. In the first place, we have the monastic submission in doctrinal and spiritual matters to the authority of the bishop, already noted with regard to the Council of Lérida and which seems to have generated open communication between secular and religious clergy, as shown by the large number of bishops coming from the monastic circles, and even, in the case of *Gallaecia*, the consolidation of the Abbey of Dumium as an Episcopal See. This "friendly" relationship would not tarnish the sharp gap in patrimonies provided by the council legislation of the sixth and seventh centuries.

Another mechanism that restricted the autonomy of the monasteries were the councils of abbots or regional conferences, foreseen in the Council of Huesca of 598 as meetings where assembled bishops, abbots, priests and deans discussed the suitability of the rites to follow.³⁶ These assemblies have their antecedents in Gallic councils in this same century, from which some minutes have been preserved, and apart from the distances, they are the antecedent, or starting point, of the rules found in the seventh century.³⁷

II. Visigothic monasticism after 589: The creative period

The conversion of Reccared to Catholicism, and with it the accommodation of the monarchy's interests to those of the Catholic hierarchy on the one hand, and the majority of the population on the other, was a fundamental moment in the normalization of Visigothic monasticism.

³⁵ See A. Lambert, "La famille de Saint Braulio et l'expansion de la règle de Jean de Biclar," *Revista Zurita* 1 (1933) 79-94; J. Pérez de Urbel, "El Maestro, San Benito y Juan Biclarense," *Hispania* I, 1 (1940) 7-42, I, 2 (1941) 3-52; A.C. Vega, "De patrología española. En torno a la herencia literaria de Juan de Biclario," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 164 (1969) 13-74.

³⁶ *Conc. Osc.*, a. 598: ...ut annuis vicibus unusquisque nostrum omne abbates monasteriorum uel presbyteros et diaconos sub diocesis / ad locum ubi episcopus elegerit congregari praecipiat, et omnibus regulare demonstrat ducendi vitas, cunctos que sub ecclesiasticis regulis... Cf. A. Mundó, "Les anciens synodes abbatiaux et les *Regulae SS. Patrum*," *Studia Anselmiana* 44 (Roma, 1959) 107-25.

³⁷ See A. Mundó, "Il monachesimo," pp. 97-100.

Whereas the very poor information available for the fifth century and the information just analyzed for the sixth century—in the period of the Arian kingdom—shows us the process of reception and assimilation of external influences, the period following 589 is full of its own manifestations. On the one hand, a monastic literature was to appear, specially rules which, without doubting the normative influences of diverse origin, were intended to give an answer to particular, immediate situations. This new phase rests on the previous one: the acceptance to a certain extent of alien phenomenon, a spiritual way of understanding the religiosity and the social relationships of the individual; its acceptance by the hierarchy and an assimilation of the monastic phenomenon in the juridical and legal casuistry. From that point on it is possible to integrate the cenobitical life into the structures of everyday life, to turn the monastic movement into an element of sociability, to integrate it into the mechanisms of production and consumption, into the rings of power; to transfer specific activities to the monasteries, such as, for example education and culture.

The elaboration of Rules in the Visigothic tradition, leaving aside possible losses, is a late phenomenon, and the impression obtained from reading them is that they were intended not so much to articulate a future reality as to regulate or to reorient specific situations. If we leave to one side the range of recommendations given by Leander to his sister, which is not really a monastic rule, both Isidore and Fructuosus, and the author or authors who drew up the *Regula Communis*, only regulate *de facto* situations. Isidore says it explicitly in the preamble to his rule:

*Many are the rules and norms of the ancestors found here and there written by the Holy Fathers, and which some writers transmitted to posterity in too diffuse and obscure a way. As for us, following their example, we have embarked upon choosing some norms in a colloquial and rustic style so that you may easily understand how can you preserve the consecration of your state.*³⁸

As for Fructuosus, he let it be known that he only took from the traditional Rules what he thought was appropriate to be followed in the monastery. The *Regula Communis*, however, makes what it rejects even clearer in its two first chapters, having been drawn up to put an end to the outrages and abuses which had brought about an altera-

³⁸ Reg. Isid., Praef.: *Plura sunt precepta uel instituta maiorum que sanctis patribus sparsim prolata reperiuntur. Quaeque etiam nonnulli altius uel obscuris posteriati tradiderunt, ad quorum exempla haec pauca nos uobis eligere ausi sumus ut sermone plebeio uel rustico quam facillime intellegatis quo ordine professionis uestrae uotum retineatis.*

tion of the very concept of monastic life.³⁹ In the first place, in order to correct the arbitrarily established foundations made without soliciting a general consensus, and without being confirmed by the bishop according to the canons and the Rule:

Indeed some people usually organize monasteries in their own homes for fear of hell, and gather in community with their wives, children, servants and neighbors under the firmness of the oath, and consecrate churches in their own dwellings with names of martyrs, and, under such a title, call them monasteries. But we do not call such houses monasteries, but rather the ruin of souls and the subversion of the Church.⁴⁰

In second place, to make clear its differences with another type of monasteries which were founded in towns by secular priests, and were defined as alien to the abbots' confederations and to the discipline of the bishop who lived according to a Rule, in this case probably the bishop of Dumium.⁴¹

All of them presuppose, then, established physical realities. In fact, when Isidore drew up his Rule, about 615-619,⁴² and Fructuosus or the *Regula Communis*—, about 646-650, regulated monastic life in the Northwest,⁴³ the monasteries were already patrimonial unities which had generated a considerable amount of conciliar legislation and had managed to occupy a place among the great landowner structures in the kingdom.

³⁹ *Reg. Fruct.*, In nom. Dom.: ...hoc de reliquo ex regulari traditione conseruari in monasterium definitum est.

⁴⁰ *Reg. Com.* 1: *Vt nullus praesumat suo arbitrio monasteria facere nisi communem conlationem consulerit et hoc eps. per canones et regulam confirmauerit: Solent enim nonnulli ob metum gehennae in suis domibus monasteria componere et cum uxoribus filiis et seruis atque uicinis cum sacramenti conditione in unum se copulare et in suis sibi ut diximus uillis et nomine martyrum ecclesias consecrare et eas tale nomine monasteria nuncupare. Nos tamen haec non dicimus monasteria sed animarum perditionem et ecclesiae subuersionem...* The chapter continues to define what the irregularities of these false monasteries are, and in practice, chapters 3 to 22 are devoted to setting these irregularities in correct order.

⁴¹ *Reg. Com.* 2: *Vt presbiteri saeculares non praesumant absque episcopo qui per regulam uiuit aut consilio sanctorum patrum per uillulas monasterium construere.* J. Orlandis, "Las congregaciones monásticas en la tradición suevo-gótica," in *Estudios sobre Instituciones monásticas medievales*. Pamplona, 1971, p. 102, where he only follows I. Herwegen. *Das Pactum des Hl. Fructuosus*. Stuttgart, 1907; whereas Ch. J. Bishko, "Episcopus sub regula or episcopi sub regula? St. Fructuosus and the monasticized episcopate in the peninsular west," *Bracara Augusta* 21 (1967) 63-64; id. "The Pactual Tradition in Hispanic Monasticism," in *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History, 600-1300. Collected Studies*. London, 1984, pp. 18-20, considers the possibility of the *episcopus qui sub regula uiuit* not being exclusively that of Dumium, but rather that the phenomenon would have extended throughout the world of Galicia.

⁴² Cf. J. Campos, I. Roca. *Santos Padres Españoles. II*. Madrid, 1971, pp. 79-81.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

In 551 the donation made by Vicentius, dean and monk at Asan, to the monastery in which he professed, shows us how the monasteries turned into great property structures due to the accumulation of donations.⁴⁴ A circumstance that was recorded by the Council of Lérida in the year 546 where the principle of segregation led to a situation in which, as opposed to diocesan property and the properties of the rural churches, the monasteries were to consolidate their patrimonial independence. The councils of the seventh century marked that position and showed the concern of the bishops over losing patrimony, even if it was on behalf of the monasteries, and of course making their doctrinal and jurisdictional preeminence clear.⁴⁵ The councils, likewise, show us how bishops occasionally disregarded that independence, forcing the episcopal conference, assembled in council, to remedy those situations.⁴⁶

Even so, despite the references of the sixth century, the proliferation of monasteries must have been on a par with the conversion of the monarchy to Catholicism. John of Biclar, in his chronicle, tells us that Reccared supported the creation of churches and monasteries.⁴⁷ The Second Council of Seville (619) mentions monasteries recently founded, together with some older ones and canon 11 talks about the founding of feminine monasteries whose administration needed to be regulated, which reflects a recent phenomenon as of yet not juridically regulated by the Church.⁴⁸

It was undoubtedly the proliferation of monasteries which made Isidore, who chaired the Council of Seville (619) as Metropolitan, give shape to a Rule which, as we have pointed out, would avoid confusion, and provide norms to adjust the prevailing reality of what were only abstract ideals and not always coherent regulations. It is not clear whether the text was originally addressed to a specific monastery or not, but it seems reasonable to think it could have extended over a wide geographical area and become famous enough to be

⁴⁴ A critical edition of the text, with a study and translation into Spanish in J. Fortacín, "La donación del diacono Vicente al monasterio de Asán y su posterior testamento como obispo de Huesca en el siglo VI. Precisiones críticas para la fijación del texto," *Cuadernos de Historia Jerónimo Zurita* 47-48 (1983) 7-70. On the same topic, P.C. Díaz, "La estructura de la propiedad en la España tardoantigua. El ejemplo del monasterio de Asán," *Studia Zamorensia* 6 (1985) 347-62.

⁴⁵ See in this sense *Conc. Tolet. III*, a. 589, cc. 3 and 4; *Conc. Tolet. IX*, a. 655, c. 5.

⁴⁶ This is the case of *Conc. Hispal. II*, a. 619, c. 10; *Conc. Tolet IV*, a. 633, c. 51; *Conc. Tolet. IX*, a. 655, c. 2.

⁴⁷ *Chron.* 587, 7: *Reccaredus rex... ecclesiarum et monasteriorum conditor et ditator efficitur.*

⁴⁸ C. 10: *...ut coenobia nuper condita in prouincia Baetica sicut et illa quae sunt antiqua.*

copied outside its original environment.⁴⁹ The Isidorian rule stands out for its moderation, seeks to put in order an undeniably austere life, but with some work requirements, a penitential system and an authority scheme within the reach of the monastic converts:

*Anyone who energetically aspires to the total discipline of the Ancients, should go and continue to his liking on that arduous and narrow way without stumbling; but he who may not be able to cope with such high examples of discipline from the elders, should begin to walk along the way marked by this rule, so that he does not stray in excess, nor with the deviation should he decide on a relaxed discipline, and end up by losing his life and the name of monk. For which, just as those rules of the ancestors can make a monk perfect in everything, so this one makes a monk even of that one from a lower category. Those rules must be observed by the perfect ones, to these must conform converts with a sinful life.*⁵⁰

But Visigothic monasticism was such a broad social phenomenon that it surpassed a simple regular or spiritual nature. If we take Isidore's Rule as a handbook of domestic economy, as a treatise on administration of an economic space, we can see that it is setting in order an ideal space that can be perfectly put on the same footing as a large piece of property in the purest late ancient tradition. This is due, on the one hand, to the fact that the monasteries had not yet generated a physical space of their own, but rather had adapted themselves to the morphology of a late Roman *villa*, and had perpetuated in practice their schemes of spatial and socio-economic distribution. On the other hand, the Rule not only set in order a physical space, in which the enclosure together with the orchard, the central structure in the monastery, corresponded to the house of the *dominus* and its outbuildings, but it also reproduced the same schemes of social relationships and distribution of productive functions.

The kind of monastery under Isidorian Rule still implied a nearby urban environment. Actually, the Rule provided for an urban branch

⁴⁹ Some codices have transmitted the text with a dedication to an *honorianense* (*honoriacensis* or *honorienti* depending on the different versions) monastery, which has been identified with a monastery named after an abbot Honorius mentioned by an inscription in Fregenal de la Sierra from the middle of the sixth century. Cf. A. Mundo, "El monachesimo," p. 106, n. 108. The inscription appears in J. Vives. *Inscripciones*. n°. 280.

⁵⁰ *Reg. Isid., Praef.: ...quisque illam uniuersam ueterum disciplinam contendit adpetere, pergat quantum placet et arduum illum limitem adque angustum leuigatum incedat: qui uero tanta iussa priorum exempla nequiuert in huius limitis disciplinam gressum constituat, ne ultra declinatus disponat nec dum declinatus adpetit inferiorem iam uitam quam nomen monachi perdat. Quapropter sicut illa praecepta priorum perfectum monachum reddunt ac summum ita faciunt ista uel ultimum. Illa custodiant perfecti, ista sequantur post peccatum conuersi.*

as an extension of the monastery itself (c. 21). A certain level of monetary economy can likewise be seen, in which money income and purchases of food, clothes and whatever else had to be paid in cash were likewise foreseen, aspects that can be better associated with an economy bound to the urban market than with the ideal self-sufficiency of the rural environment.⁵¹ Canon 11, already mentioned, from the Council of Seville (619), records that feminine monasteries in the Baetica owned properties in the countryside and in towns (*praedia earum rustica uel urbana*). This is the kind of monasticism that would better fit the more romanized areas, where classical social and economic traditions had reached a deeper level of penetration. Lusitania probably had an environment with a similar development, where the monasteries known through the *Lives of the Fathers of Mérida* would fit this “suburban” model, with interests in both the countryside and town.⁵²

The same argument could be applied to the monasteries of the Carthaginense, first those in Toledo and its surroundings, particularly known through the presence of their abbots in the Toledan councils. Although of great influence in the Toledan Church and court, on account of the dearth references we have for Agali, they are just names only.⁵³ A very similar disciplinary and spiritual environ-

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 20: ...*omne quod in monasterio in nummo ingreditur... eadem pecunia in tribus partibus diuidenda est, ...pro aliquod coemendo in diebus sanctis cultius ad uictum fratribus... tertia pro uestimentis fratrum et puerorum uel quibusque ad necessitatem monasterii coemendis.* Cf. E. Frezouls, “La vie rurale au Bas Empire d’après l’œuvre de Palladius,” *Kiema* 5 (1980) 193-210; D. Vera, “Strutture agraire e strutture patrimoniale nella tarda antichità: l’aristocrazia romana fra agricoltura e commercio,” *Opus* 2 (1983) 489-523; *id.* “Simmaco e le sua proprietà: Struttura e funzionamento di un patrimonio aristocratico del quarto secolo d. C.,” in F. Paschoud (ed.), *Colloque Genevois sur Symmaque*. Paris, 1986, pp. 231-76.

⁵² The texts, apart from reminding us that the monastery of Cauliana was very wealthy (*Vit. Sanct. Patr. Emer.* II, 9: *opulentissimi*), places it eight miles from Mérida (*ibid.* II, 2: *Dum in monasterio cui Cauliana uocabulum est quod ab Emerita urbe haud procul situm fere millibus octo distat*).

⁵³ St. Michael, Sta. Cruz, Sta. Eulalia, St. Cosmas and St. Damian (usually identified with Agali), are attested in the councils. The privilege of attending the Toledan councils seems to have reached only the bishops of the surroundings of the *urbs regia*; we can thus suppose that they were nearby. Cf. Ch.J. Bishko, “Spanish Abbots and the Visigothic Councils of Toledo,” in *Humanistic Studies in honor of J.C. Metcalf*. University of Virginia (*Studies in Philology* I), 1941, pp. 139-50. Eladius, Justus, Eugenius I and Ildephonsus, at least, became metropolitans of Toledo coming from these monasteries. The transcendence and political meaning of Agali can be seen in C. Codoñer, *El de uiris*, pp. 48-57. No other reference allows us to hazard whether any rule was followed preferentially in this or in other Toledan monasteries; cf. A. Braegelmann, *The life and*

ment must have been that of the Servitan monastery, as follows from the reading of the *De districtione monachorum* by Eutropius, which is a highly valuable work for approaching the disciplinary and vital problems of one of the more renowned monasteries in Visigothic Spain.⁵⁴ In this case the document can be dated about 590, prior to the Isidorian text, but the physical and cultural environment was undoubtedly very similar. Quite probably the monasteries in the Tarraconensis, especially in the Ebro Valley, where the Rule by Isidore seems to have been known, corresponded to this scheme, and in fact the Council of Zaragoza (691), in its canon 3, when asking the monasteries not to turn into lodgings for lay people, were describing a monastic structure absolutely in harmony with the provisions of the Isidorian norms.⁵⁵

From this particular form of monasticism comparable to that apparently represented by the Rule by Isidore, we have left aside the Hispanic Northwest, the province *Gallaecia*. Here the monastic reality appears more complex inasmuch as it is more diverse. The Rule by Fructuosus, the *Common Rule*, the *Pactum*, the so called *Consensoria*, and the writings by Valerius offer, for the second half of the seventh century in Galicia, a collection of testimonies which allow us to evaluate what is peculiar to this monasticism, or monasticisms.⁵⁶

Through the *Vita Fructuosi*, a text transmitted together with the works of Valerius but today considered anonymous, we get to know the image of this Goth, his conversion and the founding fervor which led him to establish monasteries not only in the area of Galicia but to travel as far as Cadiz, on the southern end of the Peninsula, and who did not hesitate to search for all kinds of support and influence to

writings of S. Ildefonsus of Toledo. Washington, 1942, pp. 10-14, who believes that its influence came above all from its proximity to the court. Its suburban nature (*in suburbio toletano*) was attested by Cixila (*Vita Ildef.*, PL 94, 44).

⁵⁴ The edition of the text in M.C. Díaz y Díaz, *Anecdota*, pp. 20-26.

⁵⁵ Epistle 2 in the letters of Braulio of Zaragoza is a letter from Isidore that went with a *quaternionem regularum* which we must assume included the rule of Isidore himself (L. Riesco Terrero, *Epistolario de San Braulio*. Sevilla, 1975, p. 62). Braulio himself remembers it among the works of Isidore, although this is not sufficient evidence for affirming that it was used in the valley of the Ebro; cf. C.W. Barlow, *Iberian Fathers. II*. Washington, 1969, p. 141.

⁵⁶ J.N. Hillgarth, "Popular Religion in Visigothic Spain," in E. James (ed.), *Visigothic Spain. New Approaches*. Oxford, 1980, pp. 5 and 37, has related the difference between the more urban monasticism of the peninsular South and East and that of the Northwest with the previous regional differences.

carry out his foundations.⁵⁷ By means of the Rule named after him we are able to know his monastic values: extreme austerity, absolute submission to authority, and a penal and penitential system not at all tolerant with weakness in the monks with regard to any transgression of the monastic rule. This harshness was applied as soon as one was admitted to the monastery:

*The convert from the outside world, according to the teachings of the Fathers, must not be admitted to the monastery unless he first gives proof of his disposition through works, privations, opprobria and insults... in such conditions, absolutely submitted to deprivation and humility, once the year has been fulfilled with proofs of his behavior and, hardened with troubles, after having received the blessing of the church, will be granted incorporation to the monks, and will be entrusted to one dean alone in order to be instructed in all the exercises of good works.*⁵⁸

This acceptance of discipline, of the harshness of daily life, of prayer, and of fast, defines Fructuosian monasticism much better than any spiritual reference.⁵⁹ And it is confirmed throughout the chapters of the text, in which 5 out of 24 are directly devoted to legislating remedies for lapses; in this sense, number 12: "about crimes," 13: "about the excommunicated," 14: "about agitators and unbridled ones," 15: "about the liar, the thief, the one who injures the monks" and 16: "about how to avoid vice". To which can be added those of a positive nature, which are devoted to directing the everyday activities and behavior of the monastery, which usually included penalties for those who did not fulfill them.

As for the ordering of space, Fructuosus faced a poorer physical medium, more disperse possessions and one in which the image of a compact monastery emerges with the outbuildings close to one another. However, in practice, the Rule of Isidore and that by Fructuosus share a similar conception regarding the idea of what a monastery should be, and even of a basic common structure: the presence in the monastery of an enclosure and outbuildings, where the foundation infrastructure is likewise the late imperial *villa*, in many cases

⁵⁷ E.A. Thompson, "Two notes on St. Fructuosus of Braga," *Hermathena* 90 (1957) 54-56., seems to dissipate any doubt about its ethnic condition.

⁵⁸ *Reg. Fruct.* 20: *Conuersum de saeculo, ut patrum decreta docet, non suspiciendum in monasterio, nisi prius experimentum sui in opere, et penuria, obprobriis dederit etconuiciis... atque ita in omnibus penuria et uilitate subactus, expleto anno probatus moribus et laboribus elimatus percepta in ecclesia benedictione fratrum societate donetur, unigue decano deligatur cunctis bonorum operum exercitiis edocendus.*

⁵⁹ R. Gregoire, "Valeurs ascétiques et spirituelles de la *Reg. Monach.* et de la *Reg. Com.*," *Bracara Augusta* 21 (1967) 328-45.

fortified during the Late Empire because of the danger of invasions and social struggles. They are differentiated, as we have seen, in the severity of the asceticism and the concept of authority, and of course in the physical environment, which is richer in the Isidorian rule and poorer in that drawn up by Fructuosus, in which the lodgings and the agricultural space, the orchard, cannot overlap, probably because of physical limitations. It is also a model which did not seem to have a town nearby, and it was not a monetary economy; the Fructuosian monastery is surrounded by hamlets and disperse small landowners, as the rule itself hints (c. 22).

A different world is the one presented by the *Common Rule*. If in the examples of Isidore and Fructuosus we find a conscious attempt to order rationally space and generate rules of authority, coexistence and spirituality for a community of monks constituted to this end, the *Common Rule*, as we have seen, is an attempt to turn an already established reality regarding social and economic order and organization into a "monastery."⁶⁰ The aim was to order canonically family groups and probably whole rural communities which had organized themselves as monasteries without counting on any religious authority. This Rule devotes a great deal of its chapters to putting order in this peculiar situation, and, under headings that could be common to any other monastic Rule, here we find particularly peculiar solutions. Thus, when dealing in the third chapter with the qualities that the abbot chosen to head the monastery must have, what was stressed was his capacity to defend the property of the monastery, although without taking part in a direct way in any trial or dispute, but rather by putting an intermediate layman in charge.⁶¹ If we look closely at the next chapter, about who should be admitted as monks to the monastery, we find that a whole series of guarantees had been foreseen concerning the requirements for admission, and the function given to their properties, aimed at avoiding possible conflicts if anyone should decide to leave the monastery. In this same sense, chapter eighteen insists upon only admitting to the monastery those who have radically given up all their wealth, and chapter twenty deals with the attitude to be taken towards monks who desert due to some vice. In all these cases we can see conflicts between the monastery

⁶⁰ Attributed by some manuscripts to Fructuosus, today it is believed to be the work of more than one author. Cf. J. Campos, I. Roca, *Santos Padres*, pp. 165-66.

⁶¹ *Reg. Com.* 3: *Si certe aliquis insecuntur monasterii accesserit et aliquid auferre conauerit et per uim tollere uoluerit uni de laicis causam iniungat...*

and the social surroundings that are settled by the *Common Rule*; especially present are economic conflicts in which different concepts about property and its exploitation seem to come into question.⁶²

Actually, the economic and physical environment with which we are concerned is different from the one reproduced by Isidore and Fructuosus. We find ourselves not only before different conceptions of the monastic space, but that the *Common Rule* also clearly shows us a subsistence economy, where even agriculture plays a secondary role with respect to cattle-raising. We can read in the text that should the monastery have to live on the daily bread from the area, it would hardly have supplies for three months, since it is more unproductive than the rest.⁶³ No orchard products are mentioned, nor oil, and wine shares its place with cider; this is a far cry from the agricultural traditions of the Roman-Mediterranean kind, in areas where the pre-Roman agriculture had hardly been altered, and with it the property and means of exploiting it, all of which would give rise to conflicts.

Other chapters are equally original. In this sense, chapter six regulates the way men must live in the monastery, without danger, with their wives and children; chapter fifteen tries to define how feminine and masculine monasteries must be guarded and chapter sixteen tells us what kind of monk must live with nuns in the same monastery. Chapter seventeen deals with what the practice of greeting should be in the men's and women's monastery. A detailed analysis of these chapters and of the whole rule would be too extensive; nevertheless, the peculiarity of these monasteries is made evident from what has been stated. The contradictions and ambiguities that may be detected are due to the same irregularity involved in an organization along the lines of the monasteries of the rural communities in the Hispanic northwest. This was a heterodox system with antecedents in Celtic Christianity and which must have been the first vehicle of Christianization of a great deal of these rural communities.⁶⁴ The Rule itself shows how its dictates are not restricted to one monastery alone. If in the case of the rules of Isidore and Fructuosus we may have doubts about the extent of their diffusion, in this case the text

⁶² P.C. Díaz, "El monacato y la cristianización del NO hispano. Un proceso de aculturación," in *Cristianismo y aculturación en tiempos del Imperio romano (Antigüedad y cristianismo VII)*. Murcia, 1990, pp. 531-539.

⁶³ *Reg. Com.* 9: *et insuper uix tribus mensibus per pleraque monasteria abundarentur, si sola cotidiana fuissent paxamacia in hac prouincia plus hominibus terris laboriosa.*

⁶⁴ Cf. P.C. Díaz, "El monacato."

itself indicates that we are facing a monastic confederation. The Rule, in chapter 10, orders that at the beginning of every month the abbots of a territory must gather, according to the text, to raise prayers to the Lord, but in a practical way they would discuss the unity of their mores and the coherence of their behavior.⁶⁵

Attached to the *Common Rule* was transmitted one of the most original documents of Hispano-Visigothic monasticism, the one that confers on the Hispanic monastic experience, or to a part of it, its highest share of originality. We are talking about the so-called *Pact*, which served as a starting point for a long controversy over its significance and the possible extension of pactualism to the whole of Hispanic monasticism in the seventh century,⁶⁶ or limited only to some of the manifestations of monasticism in Galicia.⁶⁷ In this pact, the professed ones collectively submit themselves to residing in the monastery and to follow the guide-lines and instructions given by the abbot with humility and obedience. There is no apparent anomalous element in the introduction of this document. The role of the superior, of his task as guarantor of the rule in the monastery, is not discussed, nor his authority at the head of it. However, a new element certainly appears, as seen below:

*As for us, we let you know, our lord, if you intended... to treat any of us unfairly or with arrogance, or with wrath, or have predilection for one and despise another with hate, to order one with domination and flatter another, as the vulgus does, then let us have powers as well, granted by God, to lodge complaint without arrogance or wrath to our preposit for every deanery, and the preposit to humbly kiss your feet, our lord, and demonstrate in every case our complaint, and you shall listen with patience, and bow your head to the common rule, and correct yourself, and mend your ways; and if by no means would you want to correct yourself, then let us have as well the powers to leave for other monasteries, or at least to summon the bishop who lives under the rule or the catholic count defender of the Church to our conference, so that in their presence you may mend your ways and observe the accepted rule.*⁶⁸

⁶⁵ *Reg. Com.* 10: *Secundo ut per capita mensium abbates de uno confinio uno se copuletur loco, et mensuales laetantias strenue celebrent, et pro animabus sibi subditis auxilium Domini implorent.* Cf. J. Orlandis, "El movimiento ascético de San Fructuoso y la congregación monástica dumiense," in *Estudios*, pp. 69-82; Ch.J. Bishko, "The pactual," p. 20.

⁶⁶ Some authors have considered that all of Hispanic monasticism was a pactual one; this position has been defended by J. Pérez de Urbel, "Carácter y supervivencia del Pacto de S. Fructuoso," *Bracara Augusta* 22 (1968) 226-42; A. Mundó, "El monachismo," pp. 103-105., among others.

⁶⁷ This is the position held by Ch.J. Bishko, "Hispanic monastic pactualism: the controversy continues," *Classical Folia* 17 (1973) 173-85.

⁶⁸ *Pactum: Tibi uero domino nostro suggerimus, si uelles,... quod credi certe nefas est et quod Deus fieri non patiat, aliquem ex nobis iniuste aut superbe aut iracunde habere aut certe unum diligere et*

We can see that the members of the community have the capacity to judge the abbot and to seek protection against his outrage. Furthermore, we are also reminded that the punishments and penalties cannot be imposed by the abbot unilaterally, but that the whole community gathered in assembly is to assume responsibility for proving guilt, once the Rule is read, and for imposing the pertinent punishment.⁶⁹ This penal system includes points not contained in the *Common Rule*, among them expulsion, provided for the contumacious and recidivist monks, who, after receiving seventy-two lashes, must leave their habit in the monastery and are expelled to their shame.⁷⁰ This fact reinforces the idea already expressed that both the *Common Rule* and the *Pact* are regulating a very peculiar kind of community, in which expulsion means exclusion from and the loss of that monk's rights and protection, a punitive element within a collective where an equality pact mediated among its members. It is a community within which the abbot is above all the guardian and guarantor of the community rights and whose authority is limited by the *Pact*, not being able to exceed the will of the whole expressed collectively.

These contractual principles of the vocation, restrictive of the power of authority, were incompatible with the principles of authority marked by the rules of both Isidore and Fructuosus, in which not only was there no possibility of discussing the authority of the superior, but the vocation was conceived under any circumstance as perpetual.⁷¹ Nevertheless, the relationship with the *Common Rule* is evident enough. In its first chapter this rule criticizes some pseudo-

alterum liuoris odio contempnere, unum inperare, alterum adulate, sicut uulgus habes, tunc habemus et nos concessam a Deo potestatem non superbe, non iracunde, per unamquamque decaniam praeposito nostro querimoniam inferre; et praepositus tibi domino nostro humiliter pedes deosculari et nostram querellam ad singula pandere et tu patienter iubeas auscultare, et in communi regula cernicem humiliare et corrigere et emendare; quod si corrigere te minime uolueris, tunc habeamus et nos potestatem cetera monasteria commouere aut certe episcopum qui sub regula uiuit uel catholicum ecclesiam defensorem comitem et aduocare ad nostram conlationem ut coram ipsis te corrigas, et coeptam regulam perficias...

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*: *Quod si aliquis ex nobis contra regulam et tuum praeceptum murmurans, contumax, inoboediens, uel calumniator, existeret tunc habeamus potestatem omnes in unum congregare, et lecta coram omnibus regula culpam publice probare.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*: *Quod si aliquis istam prona sua uoluntate noluerit agere paenitentiam, extensus nudo corpore LXX et II flagella suscipiat; et deposita ueste monasterii, indutus quod in introitu exutus est scissum notabili cum confusione a coenobio expellatur.*

⁷¹ Visigothic legislation considered any monastic vocation as perpetual (*Lex Visigothorum*=LV III, 5, 3), which only corroborated the dispositions in the monastic rules and the conciliar canons. Cf. J. Pérez de Urbel, "El compromiso monástico en la España de la Reconquista," *Studia Silensia* I (1975) 57-73.

monasteries, characterized, among other things, by the little influence the abbot's authority had on them, the abbot having been turned into a puppet in the service of the pseudo-monks.⁷² In this context it is not difficult to understand that the transition from one kind of community absolutely detached from any principle of authority to another governed by a stable Rule was made with concessions. The rural communities agreed to be organized like monasteries, but they kept their concept of power, which excluded the arbitrariness of the superior, who was conceived as the first representative of the community, the one responsible for its security, but only having authority and exercising his power insofar as he observed the Rule and his decisions did not come into conflict with the collective interests. The search for help among the neighboring monasteries is thus understood within the context of the confederated monasticism implied by the *Common Rule*, including periodic meetings of abbots from the different monasteries we have already mentioned. We could hazard that the rustic communities, by organizing themselves as monasteries, replaced their ancient political constitution with a religious norm, and during the transformation period they provided the monastic organization with their concepts of political power. The contractual nature included in the *Pact* would be the main manifestation of this process.⁷³

We have yet another example of this creativity that northwestern monasticism developed in the second half of the seventh century: a document no less original than the previous ones. We are talking about the so called *Regula Consensoria Monachorum*, a text which in the past was purported to be related to Priscillianism but which should actually be associated with pactual monasticism.⁷⁴ The *Consensoria* begins by pointing out that the document has been drawn up by those concerned by common consent, with the intention of sharing possessions and following a unique criterion.⁷⁵ This beginning clearly

⁷² *Reg. Com.* 1: ...*talem praesse sibi abbatem desiderant ut ubi se uoluerint cinuertere quasi cum benedictione sus uoluntates faciant... Et hoc agunt ut semper cum saecularibus et huius mundi principibus commune consotium habeant.*

⁷³ Pactualism would be the way in which the indigenous groups adapted themselves to the monastic structure, and not the "system of monastic life peculiar to the Visigoth converts" as interpreted by J. Pérez de Urbel, "Carácter y supervivencia," p. 226.

⁷⁴ Ch.J. Bishko, "The Date and Nature of the Spanish Consensoria Monachorum," *American Journal of Philology* 69 (1948) 377-95.

⁷⁵ *Reg. Cons. Mon.* 1: *Communi definitione decrevimus apud nos, quod nunquam postmodum ab ullo poterit infringi... unum sentire et communitate possidere.*

shows that the monastery is constituted upon the initiative of the ones concerned, who endow themselves with a behavioral norm. The rest of the text is in accordance with this; the convert, or candidate for joining the community, must be approved in his behavior by the brothers and the superior, whose duties are defined in the fourth chapter, whose ending reminds us that the latter is obliged not to neglect the things that were decided by all, a principle that is related to the concept of authority we have already seen in the *Pact*⁷⁶. This word—"pact"—was used in the document for its own definition.⁷⁷

The text is in itself a sample of the plurality of monasticisms present in Galicia at that time.⁷⁸ It warns that if anyone comes to know an ascetic practice different from that followed in the monastery, after rejecting it he must tell the superior about it; if the latter finds such teachings acceptable, they will be approved, if this is not the case, they will be corrected.⁷⁹ We interpret this not as a preventive measure against heresy, but as a measure against the multiplicity of monastic lifestyles, and as opposed to other kinds of monasteries.⁸⁰ From the content of the document it cannot be deduced whether there were men living cenobite monasticism or if it included familiar groups, such as the kind of community ordered by the *Common Rule* or whether it represented a third kind, although its pactual nature is beyond doubt.

Hispanic monasticism of the seventh century presents itself, on the whole, as a plural reality that can only be very partially analyzed in these pages. In its spiritual aspect it did not contribute highly original elements but it managed to adapt itself to the social and economic realities of its age, which we only know in some cases by means of these monastic documents.⁸¹ It was able to respond to different or-

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 4:...abbati, cui utique de his quae in commune decrevimus nihil est subtrahendum.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 6: quia non poterit proprie retinere quod per pactum ad omnes pertinere.

⁷⁸ Which Valerius of Bierzo gives evidence of in the last years of the seventh century, specially in his treatise *De genere monachorum* (ed. M.C. Díaz y Díaz. *Anecdota*, pp. 48-61). Cf. C.M. Aherne. *Valerio of Bierzo, an Ascetic of the Late Visigothic Period*. Washington, 1949, pp. 55-57.

⁷⁹ *Reg. Cons. Mon.* 5: Aut si quis ab aliquo doctrinam audierit, praeterquam in monasterio consecutus est ab eo cui se credidit, hanc aut non suscipiat, aut eam non subtrahat doctori... Si enim bona fuerint, colandanda sunt; si vero prava reprobanda.

⁸⁰ The conflict among diverse monasticisms is only too evident in the monastic literature of Northwestern Hispania. Cf. Ch.J. Bishko, "The Pactual," p. 22.

⁸¹ M.C. Díaz y Díaz, "La vie monastique d'après les écrivains wisigothiques (VIIe siècle)," in *Theologie de la vie monastique*. Paris, 1961, pp. 371-83.

ganizational schemes and serve as a vehicle of Christianization in areas that still remained pagan.

In the same way, if we wish to understand the cultural development of this age, we must take into consideration the monasteries and monastic schools, which were a central element for the preservation and transmission of knowledge and culture.⁸² No doubt the monasteries used this cultural facet to greatly influence public life. In a clear way, because an important part of the more prominent bishops of the seventh century came from the monasteries; in an indirect way, because they formed a great part of the cultivated elite of the kingdom, around the Toledan court, where Agali is a fundamental example.⁸³ They also had direct influences if we recall how Reccared used abbots for his contacts with Rome, but as the seventh century progressed the abbots obtained the right to be present together with the bishops and leaders of the kingdom⁸⁴ in the councils of Toledo, which constituted political assemblies of the kingdom; and an abbot appears to have been involved in Paulus's rebellion against king Wamba.⁸⁵

B. Liturgy

If in the case of monasticism the relationship between social and political processes, on the one hand, and institutional evolution and consolidation, on the other, is obvious; in regard to liturgy this process of consolidation is likewise verifiable, although due to the very nature of the sources and their social utility it is less obvious. Because of its own intrinsic functionality—to give shape to public worship through formal ritualizations—liturgy tends to seek finished forms, immutable if possible, which fulfill, among other things, the repetitive and static function in agreement with the image of perpetuation and immutability that they wish to transmit. However, this objective

⁸² Cf. P. Riche, *Education et culture dans l'occident barbare (VIe-VIIIe siècles)*. Paris, 1962, pp. 140-42; M.C. Díaz y Díaz, *De Isidoro al siglo XI. Ocho estudios sobre la vida literaria peninsular*. Barcelona, 1976., pp. 101-103.

⁸³ C. Codoñer, *El de uiris*, pp. 46-58.

⁸⁴ In the letter Reccared sends to Gregory the Great on the occasion of the Third Council of Toledo he gives account of a previous embassy in charge of some abbots, in a mission of an eminently political nature; see Reccared, *Ep. ad Gregorium* (MGH *epistolae*. II, p. 220). Cf. Ch. J. Bishko, "Spanish abbots," pp. 145-50.

⁸⁵ Iul. Tolet., *Hist. Wamb.* 6: ...*Ranimirum abbatem*...

could not escape stages of assimilation of influences, creativity and fixing of rites which are comparable to the processes studied in the case of monasticism.

A Visigothic liturgy, in a strict sense, should be identified with the Arian liturgy that the Visigoths may have brought into Hispania when they definitively occupied the Peninsula in the first years of the sixth century. It is highly probable that a rite from Constantinople—where Ulfilas had been brought up as a Christian—initially observed in the Gothic language, would be translated into Latin as the invaders were being romanized.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, from this hypothetical liturgy we have only a very concise reference by Martin of Braga, since after the conversion to Catholicism and the meeting of the Third Council of Toledo (589), the Catholic hierarchy took the steps to cast aside any Arian influences for the sake of a unity of creed, which had to have an equivalent unity of rites.⁸⁷

The process we have called 'of creation' in the case of monasticism probably began before 589, although the reception of influences must have been important after the conversion, when territorial unity and unity of faith led to a concern for unifying the regional diversity of rites. It is at this moment that novelties were introduced which at a later time would allow the definition of the Visigothic age rites as *officium Isidori et Leandri*.

It is generally accepted that the Visigothic rite, also called Mozarabic or ancient Hispanic, was closely related to the Gallican one, from which some scholars think it was derived, and even gave rise to confusion about which was the dividing line for the use of one rite or another. Its exact origins are difficult to trace and its original conformation seems to have been influenced by Eastern, African, Roman, Milanese and Byzantine rites, which would have reached the Iberian Peninsula at the same time as the Christian influences in a general sense.⁸⁸ These influences must have affected the different Hispanic

⁸⁶ Cf. M. Gros, "Les Wisigoths et les liturgies occidentales," in J. Fontaine, Ch. Pellistrandi (eds.), *L'Europe Héritière de l'Espagne Wisigothique*. Madrid, 1992, pp. 126-27. On the same matter E. Stutz, *Gotische Literaturdenkmäler*. Stuttgart, 1966, p. 21. For the romanization see, A. Ferreiro, "St. Martin of Braga and Germanic languages: an addendum to recent research," *Peritia* 6-7 (1987-1988) 298-306.

⁸⁷ *Epistola ad Bonifatium de trina mersione: Ariani Psalmum, Apostolum, Evangelia, et alia multa ita ut Catholici celebrant*. Cf. C.W. Barlow, Martini, p. 258.

⁸⁸ Different opinions and approaches have been discussed in an extensive bibliography of which we only can give an orientation: W. Barry, "The liturgy of Toledo," *Dublin Review* 140 (1907) 73-97; A. Baumstark, "Orientalisches in altspanischer Litur-

regions in an unequal way. Meanwhile at the beginning of the sixth century the Mass as the liturgical rite by antonomasia was virtually defined. In addition, the local and regional differences must have been considerable, as the conciliar canons hint.

The councils in the sixth century were to show great concern over unifying rites. Beginning with Agde, in 506, under the patronage of Caesarius of Arles, where extensive clerical reform was undertaken and where it was intended to set down clearly the order for the celebration of the Mass, for morning as well as for evening services (c. 30). This is clearly expressed South of the Pyrennees in the first canon of the Council of Gerona (517), where we can read: "Regarding the celebration of the Mass, we establish that the practice of the metropolitan Church must also be observed in the whole Tarraconensis province, in the name of the Lord, in the Mass ritual as well as in the order of the hymns and the service."⁸⁹ The First Council of Braga (561), in the Suevic kingdom of *Gallaecia*, practically devotes its nearly 22 canons to the fixing of the liturgical Mass. Its preamble recalls the need for the whole province to have the same exact rites and customs, submitting to the formula for the celebration of Mass received, in due course, from the Roman See by Profuturus of Braga.⁹⁰ Furthermore, specific rules appear practically in every council, whether relative to the Mass or the baptism ritual, the divine office, the fixing and ordering of the sacred times or specific cultural celebrations.⁹¹

Nevertheless, it was to be after the conversion of the Visigoths to Catholicism that the search for unity would reach its highest point.

gie," *Oriens Christianus* 10 (1935) 1-37; F. Cabrol, "Mozarabe (La Liturgie)," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* XII, 1 (Paris, 1935) 390-431. A more recent synthesis in J.M. Pinell. *De liturgiis occidentalibus cum speciali tractatione de liturgia hispanica*. 2 vols. Roma, 1967; *id.*, "Liturgia. A. Liturgia Hispánica," *Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España* II (Madrid, 1972) 1303-20, with an extensive bibliography. A systematic bibliography, up to 1984, is in A. Ferreiro. *The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain. A.D. 418-711. A bibliography*. Leiden, 1988, pp. 225-263.

⁸⁹ *Conc. Gerund.*, a. 517, c. 1: *De institutione missarum, ut quomodo in metropolitana ecclesia fiunt, ita in Dei nomine in omni Terraconense provincia tam ipsius missae ordo quam psallendi vel ministrandi consuetudo servetur.*

⁹⁰ *Conc. Brac.*, a. 561, c. 4: *Item placuit, ut eodem ordine missae celebrentur ab omnibus, quem Profuturus condam huius metropolitanae ecclesiae episcopus ab ipsa apostolicae sedis auctoritate suscepit scriptum.*

⁹¹ An extensive analysis of all these aspects can be found in J. Fernández Alonso. *La cura pastoral en la España romano-visigoda*. Roma, 1955, pp. 301-91 (c. 6: "Vida litúrgica y culto").

At this time the main argument was to mark off clearly differences with regard to the heresies and assume a single discipline. The first canon of the Third Council of Toledo (589), immediately after the relinquishment of the Arian heresy and the declaration of Catholicism, establishes that “once peace has returned to the Church by the mercy of God, may anything forbidden by the authority of the primitive canons also be prohibited by the restored discipline and may be observed which is ordered to be observed. The determinations of the holy councils remain fully in force, together with the synodial letters by the holy Roman prelates”.⁹² This is followed in the next canon by the express command that “in all the churches in Spain, Gaul and Galicia, following the customs of the eastern churches, the symbol of faith of the Council of Constantinople shall be recited”.⁹³

This declaration of intentions did not go into effect immediately. Local traditions were probably deeply rooted and the same consciousness which identified unity of faith with political unity did not mean an equal celerity in the assimilation of common forms for the liturgical rituals. Thus, there was an unconscious acceptance of the principle transmitted by Pope Gregory to Leander in the context of doubts over the specific way of applying baptism, when he stated that “having the same faith, the different customs of the Holy Church do not matter in the least.”⁹⁴ Even so, it is in the same Council where this reference is recorded that, probably upon the initiative of Isidore—the first signatory of the minutes—the most serious attempt at unifying liturgical rites was carried out. In the first place, and immediately after proclaiming the unity of faith, it was ordered that:

we bishops who are bound together by the unity of the catholic faith, will not henceforth proceed with the administration of the sacraments of the Church in a different or startling way, in order to avoid having our different proceedings seem, to the ignorant or to vile souls, to be a schismatic mistake, and the variety of churches turn into scandal for many people. Let, then, the same manner of praying and singing be observed in the whole of Spain and Gaul. The same rite for celebrating Mass. The same customs in vespers and matins. And henceforth the ecclesiastical ways among us

⁹² *Conc. Tolet. III, a. 589, c. 1: ...pace Christi ecclesiae misericordia reparata, omne quod priscorum canonum auctoritas prohibet sit resurgente disciplina inhibendum, et agatur omne quod praeceptum fieri; maneat in suo vigore conciliorum omnium constituta, simul et synodicae sanctorum praesulum Romanorum epistolae.*

⁹³ *Ibid. c. 2: ...ut per omnes ecclesias Spaniae, Galliae ve Gallaeciae secundum formam orientalium ecclesiarum, concili Constantinopolitani... symbolum fidei recitetur.*

⁹⁴ *Conc. Tolet. IV, a. 633, c. 6: quia in una fide nil officit sanctae ecclesiae consuetudo diversa.*

*who are bound by the one faith and in a same kingdom will not differ, as this is what the ancient canons decreed: that every province observe the same ways in canticles and sacred mysteries.*⁹⁵

This declaration of principles is followed, in subsequent canons, by provisions about the cycle and sacred times. For example, there is mention of the need for the metropolitans to come to a prior agreement about the fixing of the Easter celebration, in order to avoid mistakes and diversity (c. 5), and about the unity of liturgical rites which had previously been warned about. In this sense, the sixth canon stands out, in which it is debated whether immersion during baptism must be single or triple. This matter had been already debated by Martin of Braga in his epistle previously mentioned, and in it he was inclined to the triple immersion; now it was agreed to "let both of them be considered proper in the Holy Church of God, both of them irreproachable; in order to avoid, however, the scandal of schism and the use of the heretical dogma, let us practice only one immersion in baptism. So that it does not seem that those among us who practice the triple immersion approve the statements of the heretics, by imitating their customs."⁹⁶

The dispositions on the celebration of the services of the Friday before Easter (c. 7); or on not breaking fast that same day (c. 8); the blessing of the candle and the lamp on the Paschal eve (c. 9); the need for reciting the Sunday prayer in the whole kingdom not only on Sundays, but everyday (c. 10); that the alleluia should not be sung

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* c. 2: "...ut omnes sacerdotes qui catholicae fidei unitate complectimur, nicil ultra diversum aut dissonum in ecclesiasticis / sacramentis agamus, ne qualibet nostra diversitas apud ignotos seu carnales schismatis errorem videatur ostendere, et multis existat in scandalum varietas ecclesiarum. Unus igitur ordo orandi atque psallendi a nobis per omnem Spaniam atque Galliam conservetur, unus modus in missarum sollemnitatibus, unus in vespertinis matutinisque officiis, nec diversa sit ultra in nobis ecclesiastica consuetudo qui una fide continemur et regno; hoc enim et an(t)i qui canones decreverunt, ut unaquaque provincia et psallendi et ministrandi parem consuetudinem teneat.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* c. 6: "...quod utrumque rectum, utrumque irreprehensibile in sancta Dei ecclesia habeatur, propter vitandum autem schismatis scandalum uel heretici dogmatis usum simplam teneamus baptisimi mersionem, ne videatur apud nos qui tertio mergunt haeticorum adprobare adseritionem, dum sequuntur et moreue... The single immersion ran the risk of falling into Sabellianism, and it caused problems in the Narbonensis because of the adoptionist dispute, being abandoned shortly after the year 800, when the Visigothic kingdom had already come to an end. Cf. M. Gros, "Les Wisigoths," p. 128. Even so the great Hispanic work on baptism and its liturgy was to be elaborated by Ildephonsus of Toledo, who in his *de Cognitione Baptismi*, besides reiterating what was decided in Toledo IV about the triple or single immersion (c. 117), elaborated a whole *ordo* and gave all the theological explanations which had not appeared earlier in the Hispanic texts. On baptism and, in general, rituals and liturgical means of Christian initiation, see T.C. Akeley. *Christian Initiation in Spain. C. 300-1000*. London, 1967, pp. 58-96.

during Lent (c. 11); that lauds should not be said immediately after the epistle but following the Gospel (c. 12); that the singing of hymns should not be reproached, but on the contrary should be officiated in all the churches in Gaul and Hispania (c. 13)⁹⁷; that in all Masses the hymn of the three children should be sung (c. 14); to say at the end of the Psalms Glory and Honor to God (c. 15); when the Gloria must be recited at the end of the responsories (c. 16); to accept everywhere the book of the Apocalypse and read it in Mass from Easter to Pentecost (c. 17); about the moment of the communion of each one, the order and the place (c. 18). These and some other canons have led the Fourth Council of Toledo (633) to being considered as the fundamental moment of the consolidation of the Visigothic liturgy. The bishops were put in charge of seeing that all rules were observed in the right way (c. 25), and it seems that at this moment a liturgical handbook (*libellum officiale*), where the correction of rituals was written down, had already been elaborated:

*When the priests are ordained for rural churches, they will receive from their bishops the ritual book so that they may go educated to the churches commended to them, to avoid their profaning the divine sacraments because of ignorance, so that when they come to the Litanies, or the council, they can explain to their bishop how they perform the commended office, or how they baptize.*⁹⁸

It was probably his duty as the head of this council, more than his own work, specially his *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, which made Isidore famous as a liturgist.⁹⁹ However, neither the work of Isidore nor the council prescriptions achieved their aims. A provincial council, that of Mérida in the year 666, again recalled the maxim that unity of faith must go together with unity in the ecclesiastical service, when legislating on the order to be observed in the evening service.¹⁰⁰ An-

⁹⁷ This was the varying part of the liturgy, which allowed greater creativity and provided some remarkable figures in the Hispanic case. The problem of the authorship of the different eucological or hymnical texts, of the antiphons and Masses for the Saints is, in many cases unsolvable. In addition to the references in note 88, of special interest is M.C. Díaz y Díaz, "Literary Aspects of the Visigothic Liturgy," in E. James (ed.), *Visigothic Spain*, pp. 61-76.

⁹⁸ *Conc. Tolet. IV*, a. 633, c. 26: *Quando presbyteres in parrochiis ordinantur, libellum officiale a sacerdote suo accipiant, ut ad ecclesias sibi deputatas instructi succedant, ne per ignorantiam etiam in ipsis divinis sacramentis offendant, ita ut quando ad letanias vel ad concilium venerint, rationem episcopo suo reddant qualiter susceptum officium celebrant, vel baptizant.*

⁹⁹ Cf. P. Sejourne, "Saint Isidore et la liturgie wisigothique," in *Miscellanea Isidoriana*. Roma, 1936, pp. 221-51.

¹⁰⁰ *Conc. Emerit.*, a. 666, c. 2: *Sicut in fide sancta nostra est unanimitas, ita pro sancto Dei officio debet esse intentio summa.*

other provincial council, in this case that of the Carthaginensis, held in Toledo in 675, insists again on the necessity of the equal use of the liturgical rites:

*let the bishops in every province and the prelates of the churches be obliged by the authority of the metropolitan church to observe a same and identical rite when singing the psalms, precisely that which is known to be in use in the metropolitan church... so that, according to the decrees of the ancestors, that See which is the sacerdotal mother of everyone may also be the teacher of ecclesiastical doctrine.*¹⁰¹

In this case what is being alleged is not the unity of the faith nor the kingdom, but that of the metropolitan See and specifically that of Toledo, which had surpassed in authority all of the other Hispanic Sees and was regarded as a source of liturgical authority. This transference of the whole source of religious authority to Toledo culminated in the Twelfth Council of those held in the royal city, in the year 681, and it was decreed:

*it seemed appropriate to all the bishops of Spain and Gaul that henceforth, being safe the privilege of every province, the bishop of Toledo be allowed to consecrate as prelates and elect as successors of the deceased bishops, in any province in the Sees of the precedents, those whom the royal power selects, and whom the mentioned bishop of Toledo judges worthy.*¹⁰²

The political capitivity of Toledo from 610 had concentrated religious authority in its episcopal See, and to this the moral authority of the bishops was to be added; some of these bishops: Eugenius II (646-57), Ildephonsus (656-67) and Julian (680-90), were remarkable liturgists. Noteworthy is Julian, who would structure and provide the definitive drafting of the liturgical books that were probably, at that moment, the "richest and best organized in the whole Christian West."¹⁰³ The Visigothic liturgy probably kept on evolving, becoming ever richer, up to the very disappearance of the monarchy. The last of the councils of the Toledan series, the sixteenth, held in 694, still dealt with liturgical matters.

¹⁰¹ *Conc. Tolet. XI, a. 675, c. 3: ...ut metropolitanae sedes auctoritate coacti uniuscuiusque provinciae pontifices rectoresque ecclesiarum unum undemque in sallendo teneant modum, quem in metropolitana sede cognouerint institutum, nec aliqua diuersitate cuiusque ordinis uel officii metropolitana se patiantur sede disiungi... ut iuxta maiorum decreta sedes quae unicuique sacerdotalis mater est dignitatis sui et ecclesiasticae magistra rationis.*

¹⁰² *Conc. Tolet. XII, a. 681, c. 6: Unde placuit omnibus pontificibus Spaniae et Galliae, ut salvo privilegio uniuscuiusque provinciae licitum maneat deinceps Toletano pontifici quosquumque regalis potestas elegerit et iamdicti Toletani episcopi iudicium dignos esse probaverit, in quibuslibet provinciis in praecedentium sedium praeficere praesules et desidentibus episcopis eligere successores.*

¹⁰³ M. Gros, "Les Wisigoths," p. 132.

Though more difficult to notice than in the case of monasticism, Visigothic liturgy, in its ritual and literary materialization, the development of which could not be included here for reasons of space, as well as in its historical evolution, is an accurate reflection of the Visigothic kingdom.¹⁰⁴ In it, we can identify the background of its political vicissitudes—among which we could mention the rites for the justification and strengthening of the monarchy itself: unction, fidelity and sacralization—, of its religious conflicts regarding conversion, and finally, of regional diversity and competence, or centralization in Toledo. The liturgy likewise came to reflect the correlation of forces between the episcopal hierarchy and the monastic institutions. Contrary to what happened in the Roman rite, the Visigothic church saw the development of a peculiar monastic office, with a proliferation of its own rites and hours which surpassed by far the matins and vespers of the cathedral *ordo*.¹⁰⁵ This diverse office was already mentioned in the First Council of Braga, as early as 561, when its first canon warned, as we have already stated, about the need for the order of the psalms to be the same in the morning and evening services, specifying that monastic customs must not be mixed with the ecclesiastical norm.¹⁰⁶ Over the next century this duality of offices extended throughout the entire peninsular area; whether the origin can be found in *Gallaecia* or in the monastic ways introduced by Martin of Braga would be mere speculation.

To what extent this monastic office, perfectly integrated into the monastic rules of Isidore and Fructuosus, collided with the ordinary liturgy is shown in the Eleventh Council of Toledo, which in its canon 3, while insisting on the unity of rites in the province, warns that

the abbots having their own service, who must pray ordinarily in accordance with their

¹⁰⁴ An analysis of the complexity and breadth of the Visigothic liturgical texts would exceed our aims; its mere description and discussion would exhaust our limited space, so we refer to notes 88 and 97. We have likewise chosen not to deal with a theological evaluation of these texts. On this particular topic we refer to J.A. de Aldama, "Valoración teológica de la literatura litúrgica hispana," in *La Patrología Toledano-Visigoda*. Madrid, 1970, pp. 137-57.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. W.S. Porter, "El oficio monástico," *Hispania Sacra* 6 (1953) 3-36 (= "Early Spanish Monasticism," *Laudate* 12 (1934) 31-52).

¹⁰⁶ *Conc. Bracar.* I, a. 561, c. 1: *neque monasteriorum consuetudines cum ecclesiastica regula sint permixtae.*

¹⁰⁷ *Conc. Tolet.* XI, a. 675, c. 3: *Abbatibus sane indultis officiis, quae iuxta voluntatem sui episcopi regulariter illis implenda sunt, cetera officia publica, id est vespersam, matutinum sive missam aliter quam in principali ecclesia celebrare non liceat.*

*bishop's will, will not be allowed to celebrate the remaining public services, i.e. vespers, matins and Mass in a different way from that performed in the main church.*¹⁰⁷

This reference to the monastic office brings to a close our difficult aim of joining in such a brief contribution two phenomena as rich in nuances and different from each other as monasticism and liturgy are; two aspects of the Hispanic life of the Visigothic period which affected facets of daily life and that, except for this intersection, had little to do with each other. Monasticism was a sociological phenomenon of great transcendence, with long term economic implications, and a vehicle for integration, Christianization, and cultural acquisition of the most backward rural environment. The liturgy, despite its daily presence, could to a great extent be a factor of distancing and hierarchization, barely understood by the simple believer. Liturgy served to leave the Mystery of Trinity and Salvation shrouded in mystery, as M.C. Díaz y Díaz pointed out: "the practical teaching of these people was carried out through practical and simplified lessons in which the liturgy played no, or almost no, role at all".¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, both phenomena transcended the very disappearance of the Gothic monarchy. Monasticism in the Reconquest period, in the Galician territories and the Astur-Leonese kingdom owes much to the traditions of Northern monasticism, especially in its pactual forms. As for the liturgy, it survived as a particular and defining element of Hispanic Christianities, among the Christian kingdoms as well as among the population under Muslim domination, up to the eleventh century, its influence having been detected far from the peninsular boundaries.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ "Literary Aspects," p. 75. Against the affirmation to the contrary by J. Fernández Alonso, *La cura*, pp. 323ff., who feels that the liturgy of the Visigothic Mass—exuberant, dramatic and symbolical—propitiated a great interest and integration of the faithful, and was used for the cultivation of their ascetical-spiritual training.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. E. Bishop, "Spanish Symptoms," in *Liturgia Historica. Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church*. Oxford, 1918, pp. 165-202; G. Mercati, "More Spanish Symptoms," in E. Bishop, *Liturgia*, pp. 203-10.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VISIGOTHIC MONETARY HISTORY: THE FACTS, WHAT FACTS?

D.M. Metcalf

Numismatists, like archaeologists, are happiest when they have the objects of their study physically in their hands. Monetary historians, on the other hand, are ideas people, more akin to economic historians. In the field of early medieval studies, much interesting work is inter-disciplinary, and students need to command disparate skills. To transfer the conclusions from Visigothic numismatics to Visigothic monetary history requires a framework of critical argument to which the practitioners—normally numismatists by instinct—have devoted insufficient effort. This can be illustrated from two recently published monographs, both of which in their different ways are hands-on, object-based, but which make pretensions to drawing out conclusions of general historical interest. In each case, the transition is the weakest link in the chain of otherwise minutely careful argument.

Visigothic numismatics is a field where the workers are few and progress has been slow. The last two monographs to appear were in 1976 and 1964 respectively, by Barral¹ and by Tomasini.² Before that, there was Miles's fundamental catalogue, which appeared in 1952.³ With these three books at hand, historians still have ready access to much the greater part of the information that they need, soundly organized and presented.

The coinage of the Visigoths in Spain is a coinage of gold, struck at many mints steadily reign by reign, and the historical question is this: what was it for? What was its range of functions (for any coinage has a variety of uses) and how did it function in the absence of

¹ X. Barral i Altet, *La circulation des monnaies suèves et visigotiques (Francia, Beihefte, vol.4)*, Munich 1976.

² W.J. Tomasini, *The Barbaric Tremissis in Spain and Southern France. Anastasius to Leovigild*. (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, 152), New York 1964.

³ G.C. Miles, *The Coinage of the Visigoths of Spain. Leovigild to Achila II*. (Hispanic Numismatic Series, 2), New York, 1952.

fractional coinage?⁴ The same question arises with other Germanic coinages, Merovingian or Anglo-Saxon in the period up to about 670, and also with the use of later Roman and Byzantine gold coins in Scandinavia. The Visigothic coinage came to an end, in the early eighth century, before it could accommodate itself to the trends already visible in Gaul and Britain, towards silver coins of much lower unit value. Because of the cut-off date, the Visigothic coinage was of gold, and only of gold. Or so we thought. Miquel Crusafont has now destroyed that settled conviction by publishing a monograph on the Visigothic copper coinage.⁵ This really is something of a bombshell.

The coins in question are such miserable little scraps of copper that one can understand how they might have escaped notice until now. They are akin to the *minimi* of the late Roman and early Byzantine empires, which are still under-studied because they are so unattractive. The Visigothic coppers may well have been passing through the hands of dealers and collectors for decades, only to be mis-identified and disregarded as fifth-century Roman material, of no commercial value and nothing to arouse the cupidity of even the most besotted numismatist. Yet to the historian, they come as a shock, and are most certainly material witness which changes the complexion of the problems. Crusafont has set out all the evidence thoroughly and clearly. He illustrates all the material, consisting of various different types of coin, at their actual (tiny) size, with good photographs, and some also in enlargement. His exemplary catalogue runs to 228 entries. All are provenanced. In the other half of a classic two-pronged attack on the problem, Crusafont also systematically records all the finds, of which the most important are the Salteras hoard, and stray finds from San Juan de Aznalfarache, Alcalá del Río, Coria del Río, and—above all—‘Seville’ (i.e. coins offered for sale in Seville and found locally).

A distribution-map (Fig. 1) shows a heavy concentration of find-spots of coppers in and around Seville. There are also, however,

⁴ D.M. Metcalf, “For what purposes were Suevic and Visigothic tremisses used? The contribution of topographical analysis, illustrated by some comments on single finds from the Alentejo, and on the mint of Elvora,” *Problems of Medieval Coinage in the Iberian Area*, vol.3, Santarém, 1988, pp. 15-34.

⁵ M. Crusafont i Sabater, *El sistema monetario visigodo: cobre y oro*, Barcelona and Madrid, 1994. Dr Crusafont has announced his discoveries in a series of papers to congresses, etc., since 1984. See in particular “The copper coinage of the Visigoths of Spain,” *Problems of Medieval Coinage in the Iberian Area*, vol.3, Santarém, 1988, pp. 35-59, where he recounts how he made the discovery in October 1982.

securely attested finds from archaeological excavations at Cullera on the east coast in the immediate vicinity of Valencia, and one or two others which are hearsay but which there is no reason to doubt, from near Jaén and from Menorca. It seems that we are dealing with a city coinage supplying the needs for small change in Seville and its immediate hinterland. Many of the coins, indeed, read SP (for Ispali), or even, on one specimen, SPL with a titulus. These amount to 142 out of the 228 coins in Crusafont's catalogue, of which all but one are from the five provenances named above or from elsewhere in the Seville vicinity (Montegunito, one coin, Palmar de Troya, one coin). The odd man out is one coin from Menorca.

There are other aspects to the distribution-pattern. Crusafont very sensibly maps also the finds of Byzantine and Vandalic *minimi*, the sort of coins which the Visigothic coins were for so long confused with. They create an archaeologically distinctive pattern strung out through Carthaginensis and reaching to Mallorca and Menorca, with finds scattered also all along the east coast of Spain. This pattern points strongly towards long-distance trade, in which the Balearic Islands were stepping stones to the east. The one coin of Ispali from Menorca testifies to the occasional transfer of copper coins eastwards. The movement was mainly the other way: from the Seville area, mingled with much larger numbers of Visigothic coins, a score of Vandalic and a dozen or more Byzantine *minimi* have been found. Normally, merchants would not carry this city coinage, of small unit value, on long journeys. But the local prosperity and commercial activity of the city is to be understood at least partly in the context of long-distance Mediterranean trade.

So far, so good. Crusafont next proceeds to attribute copper coins to the mints of Emerita (63 specimens), Toledo (10 specimens), Córdoba (6 specimens), and uncertain mints (7 specimens). There are no finds from those three cities, and the interpretation of the coin-types may be judged imaginative. The coins given to Emerita incorporate an M-monogram into an (obviously Visigothic) bust. Now, it would be foolish to confuse an absence of evidence with negative evidence, especially when the topic is so new. If in the years ahead some well-attested site-finds or hoards come to light at or near Mérida, it will be extremely interesting to see whether they are predominantly of the types which Crusafont attributes to a mint there. Likewise when some finds come to light at Toledo, and Córdoba. Until then, we should hold our peace. One might just be permitted to draw atten-

tion to a marginal argument, namely that there seems to be a slight contrast between the composition of the finds at Alcalá del Río, and at Seville generally. Alcalá is 5km upstream of Seville on the Guadalquivir. From there, according to a reliable information, we have 13 Visigothic and 5 Byzantine coppers. The 13 are, according to Crusafont's attributions, of Ispali (7, all of his Group A), Emerita (4), Toledo (1), and Córdoba (1). The date of these coins may be the reason for the slightly higher proportion of non-local issues.

Cullera is the only useful site from which to test Crusafont's attributions, because it lies well away from Seville with the other mints more or less between it and Seville, and also because it is securely attested. There are 7 Visigothic and 9 Byzantine coppers. The 7 are from Ispali (0), Emerita (4), and Toledo (3). On that evidence alone, Crusafont is entitled to his judgment, at least provisionally. And it is alone: that is the sum total of what can be argued along these lines. We must wait to see whether he will be vindicated by future finds. But already, his monograph has radically changed our historical perception of the Visigothic coinage.

With this new knowledge, we can turn back now to the gold coinage, of the period from Leovigild to the final collapse under Rodrigo and Achila. Over all, the Visigothic kings struck gold at more than 80 named mint-places, but the total working at any one time was usually smaller; and just four together account for about 60 per cent of the surviving specimens. Those four mints are at Ispali (15 per cent), Emerita (22 per cent), Toledo (15 per cent), and Córdoba (8 per cent).⁶ These are the same four mints to which Crusafont has now attributed coppers, and it is fair to point out (which he does) that his judgment was influenced by his knowledge of the gold. The statistics may be slightly distorted by the massive hoard of La Capilla, which accounts for an undue share of the surviving specimens. An alternative approach is to calculate the proportions of the various mints among the stray losses or single finds of tremisses. The four mints are then less dominant, at 37 per cent, but still in the same ranking order. Using single finds for the calculation serves to draw attention to the mints of the north-east—Narbona, Gerunda, Barcinona, and Tarracona—which are probably under-represented in Miles's cor-

⁶ D.M. Metcalf, "Some geographical aspects of early medieval monetary circulation in the Iberian peninsula," *Problems of Medieval Coinage in the Iberian Area*, vol.2, Aviles, 1986, pp. 307-24, at p. 316.

pus. As regards 60 per cent and 37 per cent, the truth no doubt lies somewhere in between.

The predominance of the four great city mints is again part of a wider picture, which contrasts the south-west, essentially Baetica, with (especially) the north-west, and the empty center. The map (Fig.2) shows circles centered on the mint-places, proportional in area to the relative survival of the coins in Miles's corpus. What does this pattern mean, for the historian? In principle it gives us a broad view of where coins were struck, not necessarily of where they were used. To learn where they were used, we need to turn to another category of evidence, by analyzing hoards and single finds to see how far, and in which directions, coins had moved from their place of origin at the moment when they were concealed or lost.⁷ The mint statistics, showing an extreme variation of large and small mints (could that eventually turn out to be true for copper too?!) strongly suggest that, as with medieval mints generally, minting was mainly customer-led, and totally unlike the state-controlled Roman system. A moneyer set up in business in a town, but he was not supplied with bullion by the state. Customers came through the door, with gold which they requested him to coin. In so far as that is true, the volume of his output, and the output relative to other moneyers in other mint-places, should tell us about (presumably) the levels of commercial activity from place to place, or about the monetization of the regional economy. There is a dramatic difference between the cities of the south, and the numerous but tiny mints of Gallaecia. There is a sharp difference, too, between Baetica and Byzantine Spain. It is these two differences which continue to intrigue us, and which most scholars feel should hold important clues to what the gold coins were for, and how they functioned. The coastal mints of northern Tarraconensis offer a contrast too, but somehow it seems that they are another story. The crucial differences lie further west.

There is a continuing reluctance to think of the main functions of the gold tremisses as 'normal' in our modern sense of servicing a thoroughly monetized economy. That helps to account for the allure of gold-mining as the explanation of the many small mints of Gallaecia—although without a scrap of evidence to prove the connection, and indeed precious little that gold-mining was being ac-

⁷ Ibid., pp. 314-15.

tively pursued in the seventh century.⁸ Potentially more intriguing are the topographical differences between the pattern of Suevic gold mints, and the succeeding Visigothic mints in the same region.

The minting of gold to facilitate the payment of taxes, and other versions of a 'political' (rather than an 'economic') explanation for minting generally pay little attention to the necessarily multiple functions of coinage: in order to pay taxes, people have somehow to earn the money with which to pay. Toletó may seem an obvious example of a major mint with a 'political' context, but that is not to say that the proximate reasons for minting were fiscal or political, merely that the patronage and the schedules of the court attracted ancillary services, second-line suppliers, and so on, or in other words that the presence of the court promoted prosperity and monetary activity in the capital.

In order to test general hypotheses such as those sketched above, one might hope to discover irregularities or discontinuities in the patterns of minting, and to associate them securely with particular events. Exercises of that kind are necessarily statistical in character, and they need to be conducted against a background set of data referring not to the survival-rates of coins from the various mints and reigns, but to estimates of the total numbers of dies originally used,—statistics derived from die-estimation. That is a topic calling for meticulous numismatic research, and where virtually everything remains to be done. All that can usefully be pointed out here is that die-duplicates are by no means common in the Visigothic series, and that the dies known to us are, over all, only a fraction of those originally used.

That, too—the scale of the currency—is or should be of general interest to the historian. When dies have been counted and statistical estimates made, one still has to multiply by the average output of a die. That step in the argument is fertile ground for differences of opinion, since empirical evidence is totally lacking. Some scholars' instincts (or prejudices?) will lead them to prefer a minimum guess at the average output, while others will go for a maximum figure. Minimalists cannot be logically challenged. All that maximalists can do is to point to evidence from much later in the middle ages, which proves that with the technology employed, it was within the capacity

⁸ J.M. Sanches Mendes Pinto, "A mineração do ouro em época romana nas serras de Santa Justa e Pias (Valongo)," *Galicja: da romanidade á xermanización*, Santiago de Compostela, 1993, pp. 287-311, with bibliography.

of a die to strike ten thousand or even twenty thousand coins if it was fully used. No doubt averages varied widely from mint to mint.⁹ Statistics based on stray losses and single finds (discussed above in relation to the ranking of the mints) have the particular merit of avoiding that ambiguity, since they reflect numbers of coins in circulation, not numbers of dies.

The second, very recent, new monograph, *Ensaio sobre história monetária de monarquia visigoda*, by three Portuguese friends and scholars¹⁰ is rather grandly titled. The heart of the book is a long series of non-destructive chemical analyses. The authors publish the gold, silver, and copper contents of 32 of the early, anonymous coins, analysed by irradiation using the PIXE method, and of no fewer than 238 of the later signed coins, from the time of Leovigild onwards, analyzed by X-ray fluorescence. Many of the coins are in private collections, and were accessible for analysis only through the diplomacy of the three authors. Very good photographs are published of all the coins, together with details of their weights and notes on their classification and provenance. The presentation is exemplary. In an ideal world one would have used a more refined method of analysis, such as EPMA, yielding figures for several trace elements, some of which might well have been diagnostic for ore sources. XRF is not nearly a powerful enough technique to tackle, for example, the questions of Gallaecian gold-mining. Still, beggars can not be choosers, and what the three have achieved is a major step forward from Grierson's specific gravity measurements of 1953 or the present writer's XRF analyses of 1970.¹¹

In parallel with their chemical analyses the authors have made a study, based on a much larger number of specimens in catalogues, of the metrology of the Visigothic series. Here, as with the chemical analyses, the value of the results depends not only on accurate scientific measurements, but also on gathering up a sample large enough, and random enough, to iron out the variability which arose out of early medieval working practices and permitted tolerances. Again in an ideal world one would make some preliminary studies of particu-

⁹ T.V. Buttrey, "Calculating ancient coin production: facts and fantasies," *Numismatic Chronicle* 153 (1993) 335-51, for an important, if skeptical, review.

¹⁰ M. Gomes Marques, J.M. Peixoto Cabral, and J. Rodrigues Marinho, *Ensaio sobre história monetária da monarquia visigoda* (*Nummus*, anexos no.3), Oporto, 1995.

¹¹ P. Grierson, "Visigothic metrology," *Numismatic Chronicle* 6th Series, 13 (1953), 74-87; D.M. Metcalf and F. Schweizer, "Milliprobe analyses of some Visigothic, Suevic, and other gold coins of the early middle ages," *Archaeometry* 12 (1970) 173-88.

lar hoards, in order to take the measure of any distortions arising, for example, from the selection of heavier coins by some hoarders. (Wear and corrosion, which can be serious problems in studying the metrology of silver or copper coins, are less so with gold). Even if they are not straightforward, weights are less problematic to measure precisely than are alloys. Two of the three authors are scientists, to whom a sober and careful metrological analysis, as regards both the averages and the parameters, is not a difficult task.

An analysis based on the weights of nearly two thousand specimens, is at first glance amply thorough. But by the time we have sliced the cake, first one way and then the other, some of the numbers are too small for statistical comfort. If we are looking at changes over time, there are 24 reigns, from a few of which there are over 200 specimens, but from some of which the totals are in single figures. If we are looking for slight differences between one mint and another, arising out of divergent working practices or even different policies, there were in the hey-day as many as 80 mints, of which again a few are amply represented, but many are in single figures.

The intrinsic value of a tremissis, obviously, was a function of alloy multiplied by weight. How that translates into practice is an altogether vaguer question. Permitted variation in the alloy was presumably ignored by the users. Whether the exact weight was significant depended on whether the coins were in any sense over-valued. Medieval coins often were, if only because of the standard charges imposed by the mints.

The anonymous coins of the sixth century were 94-98 per cent gold, that is, virtually pure (as Byzantine gold normally was). Their weights showed some decline during the century, from 1.49g to 1.37g. The signed coins, from the time of Leovigild's reform (pp.93 and 131) were about 86 per cent gold, and weighed 1.32g: thus, a significant reduction in unit value. From late in Leovigild's issues until virtually the end of the series, the weight-standard kept returning to *c.* 1.52g, falling back to 1.48g or 1.44g. The alloy, however, showed more dramatic changes, declining steadily until the 630s and 640s, so that under Tulga (639-42) and Chindasvinth (642-9) the average was in the fifties. A reform late in Chindasvinth's reign restored an alloy close to 80 per cent, which then proceeded to decline once more, falling below 50 per cent by the beginning of the eighth century. Wittiza made a new reform, again restoring an alloy of *c.* 75 per cent, but by that time the end of the Visigothic kingdom was near.

The level of organization implicit in these changes is impressive. The Visigothic coinage was a uniform, national coinage. All the mints struck coins of the same design, weight, and alloy, which were interchangeable throughout the kingdom and were used indiscriminately. Instructions must have been sent out to all the mint-towns whenever there was a change.

That, at least, is one's general perception. If one wished to compare the weight-standards and parameters of different mints, reign by reign, one would have to go back to the source-material, i.e. to Miles, and do the work oneself. Comparing the alloy-standards and quality-control of the various mints would be less of a task, because the number of published analyses is much smaller.

What interpretation the general historian should place on the over-all figures provided in the *Ensaïos* is not very clear. The scientific results are now well-established. But if we return to the hoards we see that during these phases of progressive debasement old coins remained in circulation. It is difficult to imagine that most users were able to tell precisely what the intrinsic value of each kind was likely to be, and in any case individual specimens varied quite widely. Royal coinage policy seems to have been conducted on a hand-to-mouth basis. The best one could charitably say is that the mints exported their problems onto the users, and allowed the reputation of the currency to decline. This was a slippery slope. From time to time a determined effort was made to recover control. It is a very familiar pattern from the Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon coinage too. The general interpretation would seem to be that expediency and the pressing needs of the day tended to overcome prudence and a commitment in principle to sound money. Similar problems have confronted governments even in the twentieth century.

When the over-all pattern is so clear, and so familiar, it would be rash to seek to place a more precise interpretation on any particular segment of the evidence, unless one had a wealth of data. The authors are inclined towards an analysis based on mathematical modeling, which deserves consideration on its own terms, but which the general historian may eventually decide makes insufficient allowance for human frailty and fallibility, and is excessively precise.

How indeed does one proceed from the objective data of numismatics, to the perspectives of monetary history? Even when the facts are thoroughly established and as clear as one could wish scholars will, alas, disagree radically about their general interpretation for

monetary history. The tradition of *Münz- und Geldgeschichte* which gained acceptance in medieval numismatics ninety years ago in Germany and Switzerland has held a commanding influence ever since.¹² It was, however, optimistic, for reasons that are well worth pondering. It seemed that the exercise was largely descriptive: set out the numismatic facts systematically, and the monetary history would follow automatically. The conclusions would, as it were, shake out from the facts. But Visigothic coins have turned out to be tight-lipped witnesses, so far as the monetary historian is concerned. Under interrogation they will admit to name, rank, and number, but what they were about can only with difficulty be dragged out of them, if at all. In default of large quantities of circumstantial written evidence the main perspectives, even, of monetary history are liable to remain debatable. Although one can estimate the quantities of coins struck by the mints, within rather wide limits, it is more difficult to quantify what happened to them after they had entered circulation. Millions of tremisses were minted in Ispali, but what became of them? What did people do with them? What proportion of them were dispersed into other regions of Spain? In what context of inter-regional trade, taxation, etc., were they dispersed?

The regional and topographical analysis of monetary circulation is the nearest we can come to discovering how the Visigothic coinage was used. The end-pattern of innumerable different transactions is reflected, and an over-all balance sheet struck, by hoards and especially single finds, which show how far coins had moved from their place of origin when they were lost. The finds cannot tell us at all accurately how much money was in circulation in a region, nor, for example, what proportion of the issues of the Ispali mint stayed in the city; but if most of the finds from Gallaecia are of Gallaecian mints, then one can safely say that the regional currency in the north-west was relatively small and self-contained. There might, on the other hand, have been heavy net inflows from Ispali and other southern mints, such that three-quarters of the single finds were from mints in Baetica rather than local mints. Another example: if we wish to know how much contact there was, in monetary terms, between the north-easterly mints of coastal Tarraconensis and the main centers of monetary strength in the south-west, the answer lies in the movement of

¹² J. Cahn, *Münz- und Geldgeschichte von Konstanz und des Bodenseegebietes im Mittelalter*, Heidelberg, 1911.

coin, over relatively great distances, and the proportions of finds in each region from the various mints.

Whatever his question, the student will wish constantly to refer back to a full and detailed list of all known hoards and single finds. He can consult such a list in the work of Xavier Barral, *La circulation des monnaies suèves et visigotiques*.¹³ Barral devotes sixty pages of his book to an excellent description of 24 hoards, some large, some small, some well published, some shadowy. In another chapter he deals equally faithfully with 186 single finds. All this information is to monetary historians (and, indeed, to numismatists) what chronicles and charters are to general historians. They should wish never to be far away from it.

That should be the main strategy, first and last: monetary history *via* monetary circulation. To proceed directly from metrology to monetary history, as the authors of the *Ensaïos* seek to do, is a quick fix, of which one cannot approve.

Crusafont, too, tries to take some short cuts to general conclusions about monetary history, which cannot be recommended. He uses the numbers of coins in the surviving corpus of material, for example, to calculate the estimated annual output, of all the mints globally, reign by reign, and reaches the superficially intriguing result that output was surprisingly regular, staying close to an index of 20 until the very last years of the kingdom.¹⁴ This conclusion encourages him in the view, dare one say the prejudice, that the production of gold coinage was tightly controlled by the state, and that its functions were primarily the payment of troops, the import of luxury goods for the ruling classes, etc. But his index has no validity. One needs to go through the tedious task of die-estimation to discover, not how many specimens survive, but how many dies were originally used. Survival-rate can vary from reign to reign widely and unpredictably. It ought not to have been necessary to make this simple point in 1995.

Just as finds are the only guide to the regional composition of the currency, by mint of origin, so hoards are the only guide to the age-structure of the currency. Our controlling concept is that the currency existed as a continuum, to which new issues were added, and from which old coins dwindled away by the processes of wastage, or were officially withdrawn; a hoard, provided it is of sufficient size, gives us a glimpse of the composition of the currency at one particu-

¹³ See note 1.

¹⁴ *op.cit.*, at p. 90.

lar moment. If we arrange the available hoards into chronological order, we can obtain a series of glimpses or snap-shots of the currency; and if they are sufficiently close together, we will achieve the illusion of a moving picture. Of course, not enough hoards have been published to chart the ebb and flow of the currency in this way, especially when one takes into consideration that in a country as vast as Spain there may well have been regional variations in the age-structure of the currency. (Indeed, these may be of lively interest.)

The authors of *Ensaïos* devote a lengthy chapter of their monograph to the mathematical modeling of the changing volume of the Visigothic currency, on various sets of suppositions, which are set out with scrupulous scientific care. They elaborate three alternative models with, e.g. different wastage rates, and draw graphs of the cumulative quantities of coinage in circulation, at 5-years intervals. The results tend to follow the pattern of debasement. They do not attempt to anchor their results to, or check their validity against, the age-structures empirically observable in the hoards. Moreover, they fall into the same methodological pit as Crusafont by basing all their modeling on statistics of surviving specimens derived from the corpus—exactly the same set of numbers, in fact, that Crusafont uses. That invalidates the whole exercise, for reasons that have just been explained. Their final chapter, giving their considerations on the ‘fiscal nature’ of the Visigothic coinage, is likely to be a house built on sand, if their methodology is so defective. A graduate student proceeding on these lines would deservedly find that his thesis was referred for drastic revision.

Nevertheless, the analyses are a valuable resource. Instead of modeling a uniform wastage-rate over a period of 140 years, one might usefully explore particular moments, such as the reform of c.649, putting together different categories of information. The sixteen analyses for the reign of Reccesvinth, for example, can be plotted against the weights of the coins, to show (Fig.3) a clear-cut separation between the mints of Toletó and Emerita. The restored alloy-standard seems to have been accompanied by a sharp reduction in the number of mints functioning, from over 20 to only 9 or 10—Narbona, Gerunda, Tarracona (no analyses available for these three), Toletó, Córdoba, Ispali, Egítania, Emerita, and Bracara. There is no well-documented post-reform hoard to show us whether the pre-reform, debased tremisses were very effectively called in. The hoard of La Grassa (Tarragona), 1816 consisted predominantly of coins of

the usurping Chindasvinth, with none of the joint reign of Chindasvinth and Reccesvinth, but at least one (almost certainly from the hoard) in the sole name of Reccesvinth.¹⁵ It raises the interesting question whether the son may not have issued coins in his sole name at Cordoba as early as *c.* 649—and whether Chindasvinth may not have occasionally minted in his own name alone, at Toledo, after the beginning of the joint reign. There is just one coin of Chindasvinth of reform quality, among ten analyzed by Cabral. Did the reform post-date the association of Reccesvinth with his father?—In short, some detailed numismatic work remains to be done, and a hoard from the joint reign would remove many uncertainties, especially if its contents could be submitted to non-destructive analysis.

The barrier to progress in Visigothic monetary history is not so much a shortage of coins—there are large and accessible public collection, particularly those of the American Numismatic Society and the Hispanic Society in New York—as a shortage of hoards and single finds. That is the bottle-neck. One of the pleasures of numismatics is that new material steadily comes to light, through archaeological excavations or through chance finds, in a way that one cannot hope for if one's primary sources are documents. Little by little the lists of hoards and single finds grow. António Marques de Faria made an honorable contribution by publishing 70 additional finds, at the Santarém symposium.¹⁶ A certain amount of new material, alas, is concealed from the authorities, and sold to collectors. In this way precious evidence of provenance is often lost.

Monetary historians should be able to think of an endless series of interesting questions to ask about the Visigothic and Suevic coinages. There are two kinds of question, namely about how the coins were minted—organization of the mints, standards, and intentions of the issuing authority—and about what happened to them after they had been put into circulation. Questions of the second kind usually involve finding statistical differences in regional distribution-patterns, or in changes over time. The more finds there are on record, the more answers become possible and, eventually, the more exact they can become.

¹⁵ Barral, *op.cit.*, pp. 119f. The coin was among those in the Jesuit college of Sarrià. The same coin, apparently, was described as part of the hoard by Barcalli in 1818.

¹⁶ A. Marques de Faria, "On finds of Suevic and Visigothic coins in the Iberian peninsula and their interpretation," *Problems of Medieval Coinage in the Iberian Area*, vol.3, pp. 71-88.

Writing the monetary history of Spain in the period from Leovigild's reform onwards is child's play compared with doing the same for the first three quarters of the sixth century. Leovigild introduced the standard practice of placing the royal name on the obverse and (subsequently) the name of the mint-place on the reverse. Except in the case of some disputed readings of the mint-signature, seventh-century coins can be attributed without hesitation to a particular reign, or even part of a reign, and to a place. The pre-reform coins are anonymous and do not name their mint. Working out their exact attribution is a complex and delicate task, in which we are still far from certainty.¹⁷ Doubtless the big cities of the south had active mints, just as they did later on. One fact is certain: the pre-reform coins were minted in enormous quantities. Tomasini catalogued 660 specimens, among which there are very few die-duplicates. The coins analyzed and published in *Ensaio*s, however, include several die-identities with coins in Tomasini. Even so, the original total of dies will doubtless have been several times larger than his 660 specimens. For the rest, one can only suppose that their monetary history was in many ways similar to that of the signed coins.

No bricks without straw; and the two new monographs reviewed have delivered generous supplies of straw, baled with exemplary care. Making bricks is another operation. As regards the copper coins, we eagerly await more provenanced finds. As regards the metrology of the post-Leovigild coinages, we are better placed than ever before to ask detailed questions about the intentions of the minting authorities, and to develop answers within a soundly established framework of fact. Asking the questions is a creative task, which is likely to be performed best by students who are committed to an inter-disciplinary approach.

¹⁷ D.M. Metcalf, J.M.P. Cabral, and L.C. Alves, "Sixth-century Visigothic metrology, some evidence from Portugal," *American Journal of Numismatics* 3-4 (1991-92) 65-90.

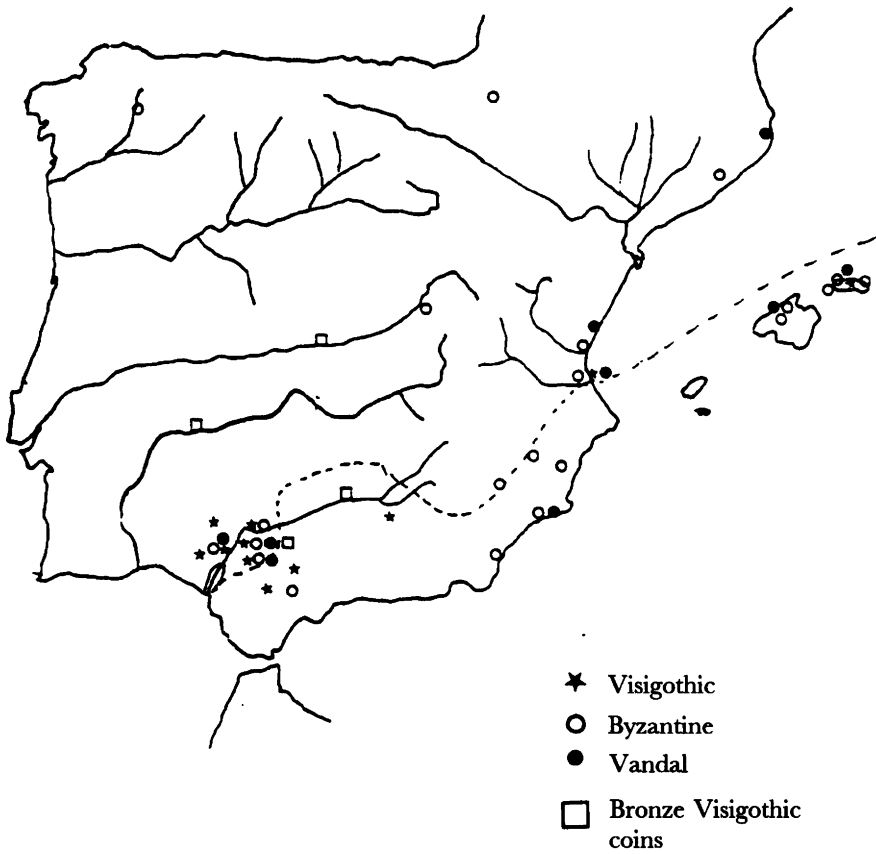


Figure 1. Copper Coinage in Visigothic Spain (after Crusafont)

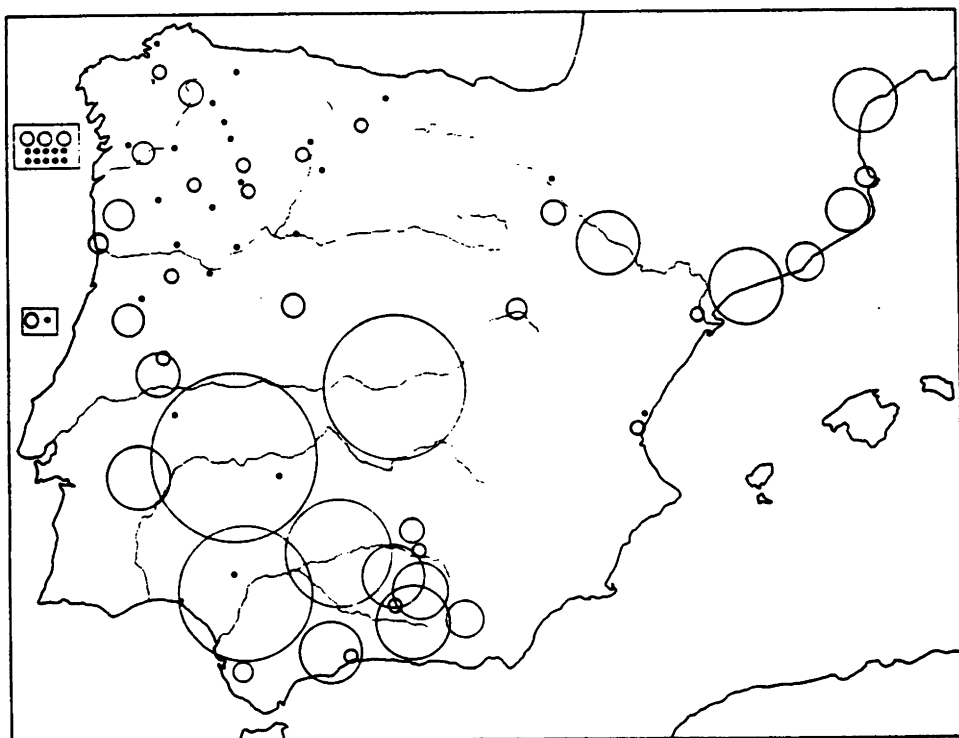


Figure 2. Relative mint-output of the Visigothic mints. The dots represent mints too small for a circle to be drawn (Source: mint locations after Barral i Altet, mint statistics after Miles).

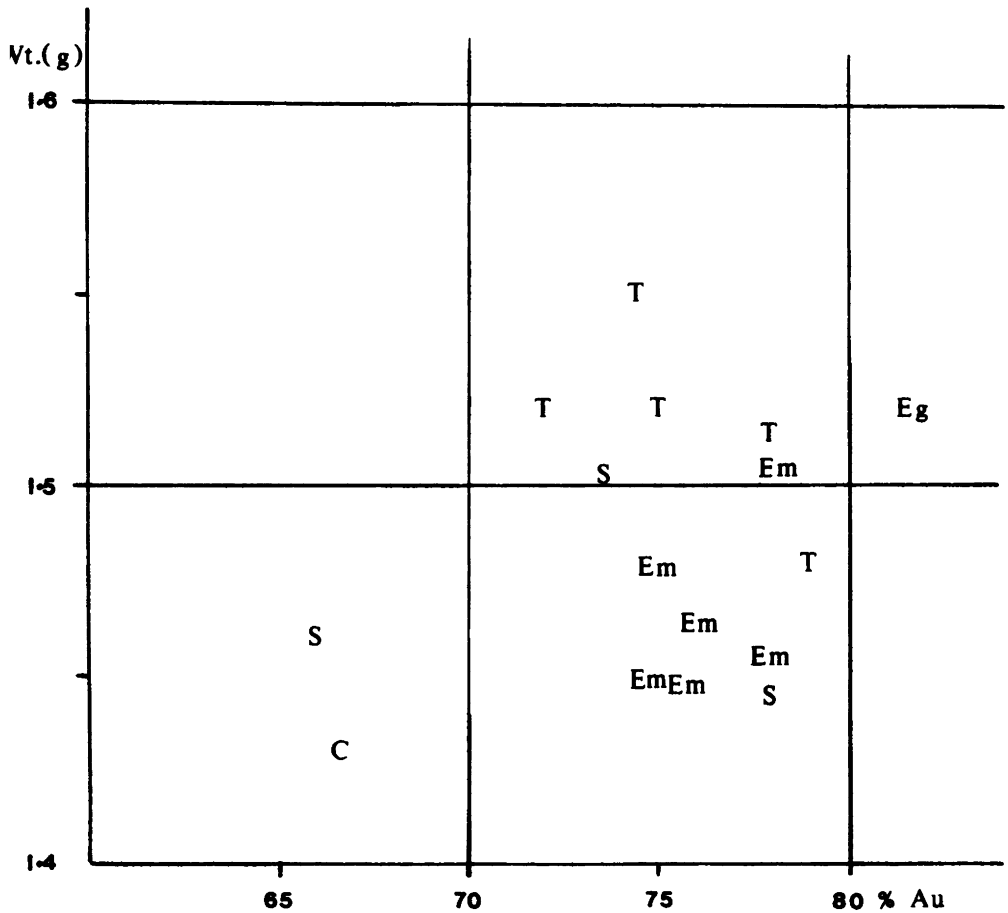


Figure 3. Variations between mints, in the reign of Reccesvinth. Gold centers plotted against weight to reflect intrinsic value), for coins minted at Córdoba (C), Egitania (Eg), Emerita (Em), Ispali (S), and Toledo (T).

CHAPTER EIGHT

A CHANGING WORLD—AFRICAN RED SLIP IN ROMAN AND VISIGOTHIC BAETICA

Karen E. Carr

The collapse of Roman rule in the Iberian peninsula about 400 AD is strikingly visible in the archaeological record, and so is the lack of recovery under the Visigoths. Under Roman rule, many inhabitants of the Guadalquivir valley in southern Spain (ancient Baetica) enjoyed the use of imported fine tablewares and serving dishes from North Africa. With the collapse of the Empire, as we shall see, the availability of these items decreased sharply, and did not recover much even with the return of relative stability to the area under the Visigothic kings. Despite the fact that production of African Red Slip wares (as they are known today; we do not know what they were called in antiquity) continued in North Africa almost to the end of the seventh century, when the Arabs invaded, none of the ARS found in Baetica can be dated later than 625, and there is very little of that; a few sherds, nothing more.

Why should the fall of Rome have had such a disastrous impact on inter-provincial trade? To begin with, with the disintegration of Roman rule shipping became much more expensive. Carniero and others have argued, for example, that after a collapse the inimical relations among the smaller successor states greatly complicate exchange.¹ Without government-subsidized transport across the Mediterranean in the form of grain and oil ships bound for Rome, imported tablewares became both prohibitively expensive and more difficult to get, especially in areas off the beaten path.² The Roman

¹ R. Carniero, "A Theory of the Origin of the State," *Science* 169 (1970) 735; H. Kaufman, "Collapse as an Organizational Problem," in N. Yoffee and G. Cowgill, eds., *The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations*. Tucson, 1988, p. 220; H. Wright, "The administration of rural production in an early Mesopotamian town," *Museum of Anthropology, Univ. of Michigan, Anthropological Papers* 38 (1969); J. Tainter, *The Collapse of Complex Societies*. Cambridge, 1988, pp. 19-20; R. McC. Adams, "A Mesopotamian View," in Yoffee and Cowgill, *The Collapse*, pp. 34-36.

² M. Fulford, "Carthage: overseas trade and the political economy, c. A.D. 400-700," *Reading Medieval Studies* 6 (1980).

dole and the needs of the army, moreover, had encouraged a relatively regular shipping schedule throughout the provinces. Merchants could count on this schedule to deliver their goods.³ Once the usual routine had been disrupted, ARS was no longer reliably available. The residents of the Guadalquivir valley were forced to get their fine tablewares on a catch-as-catch-can basis.

Second, the Romans had continually policed the Mediterranean. In their absence piracy must have skyrocketed, not to mention innumerable petty naval conflicts between rival powers. Tertullian, for example, praised the empire for the universal ease of communication, trade, and travel.⁴ The added risk, following the collapse of Rome, that one's ship would be captured and pillaged meant added costs of doing business: armed guards on the ships, convoys, or simply the losses which had to be absorbed. This raised the price of ARS beyond what was acceptable.

Third, the Romans also may have subsidized transport within the province of Baetica, for instance up the Guadalquivir river to the famous silver and lead mines of the Sierra Morena.⁵ Small boats carrying orders and supplies for the soldiers garrisoned there, and taking away the ore, plied the upper reaches of the Guadalquivir with considerable regularity even in the fourth century. When Roman rule collapsed, the mines were for the most part abandoned, and there was no longer so much reason for boats to travel regularly between Cordoba and Castulo.⁶

Fourth, the Romans enforced maintenance of the local road system. The power of the Emperors rested on the threat of bringing Roman soldiers to keep rebellious or unruly cities in line; this threat was meaningless without roads on which messages could be sent and

³ Privately owned loads of luxury items seem to have traveled as secondary cargoes on many government transports of army supplies: *C. J.* 11.1.7-8; *C. Th.* 13.5.26. See G. Pucci, "Pottery and Trade," and C.R. Whittaker, "Late Roman Trade and Traders," both in P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins, and C.R. Whittaker, *Trade in the Ancient Economy*. London, 1983, pp. 111-112, 165.

⁴ Tertullian, *De anima* 30.3f. Cf. R. MacMullen, *The Roman Government's Response to Crisis: A.D. 235-337*. New Haven, 1976, p. 4.

⁵ G.D.B. Jones, "The Roman Mines at Riotinto," *Journal of Roman Studies* 70 (1980) 152; C. Domergue, *Les mines de la Péninsule Ibérique dans l'antiquité romaine*. Rome, 1990. B. Rothenberg and A. Blanco-Freijeiro, *Studies in Ancient Mining and Metallurgy in South-West Spain: Explorations and Excavations in the Province of Huelva*. London, 1981.

⁶ J.C. Edmondson, "Mining in the Later Roman Empire and Beyond: Continuity or Disruption?" *Journal of Roman Studies* 79 (1989) 84.

Roman soldiers could march.⁷ The Roman army itself built some roads, but more of them were built by *corvée* labor of the local peasants—under Roman compulsion.⁸ Without government enforcement of routine maintenance, the roads quickly fell into disrepair, making land transport much more difficult.

Finally, with the fall of Rome political events began to have a significant effect on the import of ARS. Under the *pax romana*, political upheavals had been far away for the most part: remote events at Rome or on the borders of the Empire.⁹ At the beginning of the fifth century, however, three northern tribes crossed the Pyrenees and settled in Spain: the Vandals, the Alans, and the Sueves. When, as the chronicler Hydatius tells us, the three groups divided Spain among themselves “by lot,” Baetica fell into the hands of the Vandals.¹⁰ Though the Vandals were few in number compared to the Hispano-Roman residents of Baetica, there was a good deal of fighting and more disruption in the area. In 415 the Visigoths arrived and fought the Alans and the Vandals, and there was more disruption.¹¹ In 428 the surviving Vandals sacked Seville. When the Vandals decamped for North Africa the following year, and Baetica was taken over by the Sueves, they too sacked Seville. The Visigoths fought the Sueves over

⁷ *CIL* 2.1125, 2.1126, *et al.*, testify to the presence of soldiers in Baetica, and see also P. Le Roux, *L'armée romaine et l'organisation des provinces ibériques d'Auguste à l'invasion de 409*. Paris, 1982.

⁸ *CIL* 2.3270; J.M. Blázquez, *Castulo, capital of the mining district of Oretania*, in T.F.C. Blagg, R.F.J. Jones and S.J. Keay, eds., *Papers in Iberian Archaeology II*, *BAR* i.s. 193. Oxford, 1984, p. 397; J.M. Roldan Hervas, *Itineraria Hispana: Fuentes antiguas para el estudio de las vías romanas en la Península Ibérica*. Valladolid, 1973. For references to the use of army personnel for large-scale provincial construction, cf. R. MacMullen, “Roman Imperial Building in the Provinces,” *HSCP* 64 (1959) 231 n. 73 and S. Mitchell, “Imperial Building in the Eastern Roman Provinces,” *HSCP* 91 (1987) 337-38.

⁹ Thus Jones sees one of the main reasons for the collapse of the Roman West, while the East survived, as being the closer proximity of the Germanic invaders to the western territories (Jones, *LRE*, ii, 1027). For the general theory, cf. Carniero, “Origin of the State,” 735; J. Tainter, *The Collapse of Complex Societies*. Cambridge, 1988, pp. 19-20; Kaufman, “Collapse as an Organizational Problem,” p. 220.

¹⁰ Hydatius 17 (49) (411 AD): *barbari ad pacem ineundam domino miserante conversi, sorte ad inhabitandum sibi provinciarum dividunt regiones. Callicium Vandali occupant et Sueavi sitam in extremitate Oceani maris occidua. Alani Lusitaniam et Carthaginensem provincias et Vandali cognomine Silingi Beticam sortiuntur*. (In this and in the following notes, I follow the edition of R. Burgess, *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana*. Oxford, 1993).

¹¹ Hydatius 23 (63) (417 AD): *Vallia rex Gothorum Romani nominis causa intra Hispanias caedes magnas effecit barbarorum*; 24 (67) (418 AD): *Vandali Silingi in Betica per Valliam regem omnes extincti*.

Spain for the rest of the fifth century and, pushed from behind by the Franks, finally took over Baetica in 497. By 507 Spain, nominally under the rule of an infant king of the Visigoths, was in fact ably administered by that infant's uncle, Theodoric the Ostrogoth, of Italy.¹² After Theodoric, the Visigoths and Spain had a succession of able and more or less responsible kings, and retained control of Baetica without any more invasions until the Arabs came in 711.

Why, then, did Mediterranean trade not recover once the Visigoths took over? Some more hypotheses: First, the Visigothic government did not import goods from outside Spain on a regular basis, nor did it export goods except (notably) during the regency of Theodoric, and so it did not subsidize sea transport.¹³ Neither did the Visigothic government subsidize transport within Spain; the Visigothic army, such as it was, ate off the land. This may be seen clearly in Hydatius' attitude toward the expedition of Theodoric II against the Sueves in 455-7. He tells us that the campaign had been organized by the emperor Avitus, but because it took place after Avitus' death, the Visigoths were released from imperial control and were free to resume their more natural character as treacherous plunderers.¹⁴ Thus Hydatius clearly saw Roman government as a restraining hand, protecting civilians from the depredations of the *foederati*.¹⁵

¹² *Chron. Zar.* 494: *His cons. Gotthi in Hispanias ingressi sunt*; 497: *His cons. Gotthi intra Hispanias sedes acceperunt*. *Chron. Zar.* 510: *His cons. ... Gesalecus ab Hebbane Theodoricus Italiae regis duce ab Hispania fugatus Africam petit*; 513: *Post Alaricum Theodoricus Italiae rex Gotthos regit in Hispania an. XV, Amalarici parvuli tutelam gerens*. Cf. L. García Iglesias, "El intermedio ostrogodo en Hispania (507-549 d.C.)," *Hispania Antiqua* 5 (1975) 89-120; L.A. García Moreno, "Problemática de la Iglesia Hispana durante la supremacía ostrogoda (507-549)," in *Hispania Christiana: Estudios en honor de Prof. José Orlandis Rovira*. Zaragoza, 1988, pp. 147-60; R. Collins, "Mérida and Toledo: 550-585," in E. James, ed., *Visigothic Spain: new approaches*. Oxford, 1980, pp. 482-508.

¹³ E.A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain*. Oxford, 1969, p. 10; L. Cracco-Ruggini, "Strutture socioeconomiche della Spagna tardorromana," *Athenaeum* 43 (1965) 432-40.

¹⁴ Hydatius 2 (173) (456 AD): *cum voluntate et ordinatione Aviti imperatoris ingreditur*; 1 (186) (457 AD): *qui dolis et periuriis instructi, sicut eius fuerat imperatum, Asturicam, quam iam praedones ipsius sub specie Romanae ordinationis, intraverant... ingrediuntur pace fucata solita arte perfidiae*.

¹⁵ L.A. García Moreno, "Hidacio y el ocaso del poder imperial," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 79 (1976) 34; P. Brezzi, "Romani e Barbari nel giudizio degli scrittori cristiani dei secoli IV-VI," *Settimane sull'alto medioevo* 9 (1962) 576; F. Giunta, "Idazio ed i barbari," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 1 (1964) 491. Nevertheless in 409 Gerontius' *honorarii* were allowed to plunder northern Spain as a reward for their victory; cf. Oros. 7.40.7-8; Zos. 5.5.1; Soz. 9.12; J.C. Raña Trabado, "Priscus Attalus y la Hispania del s. V," *Actas I Congreso Peninsular de Historia Antigua III*. Santiago de Compostela, 1988, p. 278.

Second, the Visigoths did not control the Mediterranean, and did not have a regular navy, and so could do very little to keep down piracy. Nor were any of the other kingdoms of the Western Mediterranean in a position to police the seas. It is possible that the Byzantines took over this duty to some extent in the years following the Reconquest, but it is hard to believe that they did a good job, or that they were particularly concerned with protecting trade between their territory in North Africa and their enemies the Visigoths. Around 650, certainly, Eugenius of Toledo was unable to send some copies of his work on the Trinity to the East because of pirates, probably Arabs.¹⁶

Third, although mining was known and practiced in the Visigothic era, no large-scale government-sponsored mining seems to have taken place. It is possible that the mines were played out, also that the Visigoths no longer commanded the engineering ingenuity needed to keep the hydraulic pumps and so forth in operation.¹⁷ In any case Spain, and Europe in general, was no longer really a monetarized economy, and so silver was less coveted than it had been under the Romans. No silver currency was minted at all between about 450 and the coming of the Arabs.¹⁸ Because of this lack of interest in mining, transport up and down the Guadalquivir would have been irregular at best.

Fourth, the Visigothic kings never attained a level of control over the local Hispano-Roman aristocracy that would have enabled the kings to force the local populations to maintain the roads.¹⁹ Nor did they have the same incentive to do so as did the Romans: there was no standing Visigothic army which could be called in to maintain order in an emergency.²⁰ For military reasons, and particularly be-

¹⁶ J. Orlandis, *Historia de España: La España visigótica*. Madrid, 1977, p. 198.

¹⁷ Leander, *De institutione virginum et contemptu mundi* 24 (15): *Quibus ergo vires corporibus opus sunt, habeant carnis usum: scilicet, qui metalla effodiunt, qui in agone terreno certent, qui construunt celsorum culmina aedificorum...* (PL 72, 873-894). Orlandis, *La España visigótica*, p. 194.

¹⁸ G.C. Miles, *The Coinage of the Visigoths of Spain, Leovigild to Achila II*. New York, 1952.

¹⁹ L.A. García Moreno, "Estudios sobre la organización administrativa del reino visigodo de Toledo," *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* 44 (1974) 5 ff., 123-49.

²⁰ LV 9.2.9 (Ervig): *De his, qui in exercitum constituto die, loco vel tempore definito non successerint aut refugerint; vel que pars servorum uniuscuique in eadem expeditione debeat proficisci. Dum aut de bellica protectione se differunt, aut, quod peius est, vel remorari contra monita cupiunt, vel destituti contra ordinem proficiscuntur; cum quidam illorum laborandis agris studentes servorum multitudines cedunt, et procurande salutis sue gratiam nec vicesimam quidem partem sue familie secum ducunt; ... maiorem diligentiam rei familiaris quam experientiam habentes in armis; quasi*

cause of the Byzantine invasion to the south, the Visigothic kings did have some reason to maintain the main Roman roads, and there is some reason to think that they did so.²¹

Fifth, another effect of the Visigothic lack of control over the local aristocracy, and indeed over their own associates at court, was a high level of conflict at the local level throughout their rule. Cities fought each other over petty territorial squabbles, kings fought rebellious aristocrats. The famous rebellion of Hermengild against Leovigild is only one example. The smaller size of the Visigothic kingdom made it inevitable that many of these civil wars would be fought in Baetica, and the unsettled character of the countryside under these conditions hampered trade.

Finally, Isidore of Seville and his contemporaries agree that the Visigothic kingdom became increasingly isolationist after about 600 AD. Even the correspondence between the Spanish bishops and the Pope in Rome dwindles away after the death of Pope Gregory the Great in 604 AD. A letter reached the Spanish bishops from Pope Honorius in 638 condemning them for their leniency toward the Jews; the letter does not survive but the bishop Braulio's response makes clear the lack of awareness in Rome of contemporary events in Spain.²² The increasingly jingoistic attitudes of the residents of the Iberian peninsula may have made overseas trade unpopular as well as difficult.

I have drawn the evidence to support the hypotheses outlined above from an invaluable surface survey conducted over a period of thirty years by Dr. Michel Ponsich of the Casa de Velasquez in Madrid.²³ Dr. Ponsich visited thousands of ancient sites around the Guadalquivir valley, from the mouth of the river at Sanlucar de Barrameda to its source in the hills of the Sierra Morena above Andujar. For each of

laborata fructuri possideant, si victores esse desistunt. Toledo XII (681), canon 7: *De receptio testimonio personarum qui per legem de promotione exercitus facta est testificandi licentiam perdiderunt.*

²¹ LV 8.4.24, *Ant.*: *De damnis iter publicum concludentium*:—*Si iter publicum clausum sit, rumpenti sepem aut vallum nulla calumnia moveatur. Ille vero qui viam clauserat, que consueverat frequentari*, (various penalties); LV 8.4.25, *Ant.*: *De servando spatio iuxta vias publicas*:—*Viam, per quam ad civitatem sive ad provincias nostras ire consuevimus, nullus precepti nostri temerator existat, ut eam excludat; sed utroque medietas arripennis libera servetur, ut iter agentibus adplicandi spatium non vetetur...Quod si propter paupertatis angustias campum sepius non possit ambire, fossatum protendere non moretur.*

²² Braulio, *Ep.* 21; cf. the acts of the council of Toledo VI.

²³ M. Ponsich, *Implantation rurale antique sur le Bas-Guadalquivir*. I (Paris, 1974), II (1979), III (1987), IV (1991).

these sites he recorded the types of fine wares present, the approximate size of the site (by categories: agglomeration, villa, farm and shelter), its exact location, and any other interesting objects or architecture which was visible. Many of these sites are no longer in existence, having succumbed to the urban sprawl of Seville and Córdoba.

Ponsich's primary purpose in undertaking this massive oeuvre was to investigate the process of olive oil production in the Guadalquivir valley in the second and third centuries AD, when Spanish oil was of considerable importance in Rome. He therefore concentrated his efforts on collecting evidence of amphora production in the valley. Nevertheless he also collected, identified, and published thousands of sherds of ARS from later periods. It is on these sherds that my argument chiefly rests.

I began by identifying as many sites as possible in the valley which showed evidence of having had ARS at some point between 300 and 700 AD; that is, in the last century of Roman rule, during the tumult of the fifth century, or in the Visigothic period. Over four hundred of the sites located by Ponsich fall into this category, and, because many sites have more than one sherd, over a thousand sherds of ARS are involved. I then reviewed the identification of each sherd, refining the chronology as closely as possible. Ponsich's first two volumes were published before the publication of John Hayes' *Late Roman Pottery* in 1972, and so he used the Lamboglia system of identification, which is much less precise, especially for the later periods.²⁴ He continued to use the Lamboglia system in his third volume, only switching to the Hayes system in the fourth and last volume of his publication.

There are therefore different levels of security in my identifications. On a visit to the Seville Archaeological Museum, I was able to examine personally 120 of these sherds, which come from 75 different sites and are published, mainly for the first time, in the catalogue which appears at the end of this paper. Another eighty sherds were illustrated in Ponsich's publications, primarily in the first volume. For the remaining majority, I am entirely dependent on Ponsich's identifications, and on the concordance between Lamboglia forms and Hayes forms to be found in Hayes' *Late Roman Pottery*. There are some problems here, where Ponsich has clearly misidentified whole categories of sherds, but to the extent possible these errors have been corrected (they are noted in detail in the catalogue). I have calculated all

²⁴ J.W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*. London, 1972, and his *Supplement*. London, 1980.

my results three times: once using only those sherds which I personally identified, again using both these and the ones illustrated by Ponsich, and a third time using all the available information.

It was immediately apparent that there were many more sherds of ARS datable to the fourth century than to the later periods. Some forms continued in use longer than others, so for each form I divided the number of sherds by the number of years the form was in production, to get the average number of sherds per year. The results were unequivocal: Ponsich found an average of over four sherds per year dating to the fourth century, while at no time in the fifth century did the average exceed two sherds per year, and after 525 the average is less than one sherd every two years.

The number of sites with ARS also declines over time. Using the sherds I saw myself, or saw illustrated in Ponsich, 76 sites could be identified as having fourth century ARS, but only forty sites had fifth century ARS, and only 38 had sixth or seventh century ARS. Using Ponsich's identifications to pick up as many sites as possible, I located 336 Roman sites, 82 fifth century sites, and 117 Visigothic sites. There was a serious decline both in the amount of ARS in the area and in its distribution.

The hypothesis I presented seems to be confirmed. The collapse of Rome resulted in a disruption of trade which was not remedied in the Visigothic period. But this in itself is not as interesting as the specific reasons why the collapse of an empire should mean a disruption of trade. I suggested that one reason was that in the absence of Roman subsidies of transport and campaigns against piracy, imported tablewares became prohibitively expensive.

Some confirmation of this can be found in the patterns of distribution of ARS in the Guadalquivir valley. Once the sherds had been identified, I compiled all of the information given by Ponsich for each site which had yielded sherds. Ponsich gave a rough indication of the size of each site, dividing them into four categories: agglomerations (towns and villages), villas, farms, and shelters. He defines a villa as a large site, generally with good access to water, with such luxuries as private baths, marble revetments, and mosaic floors. Often large building stones appear. Farms are smaller sites, and lack luxury items. Shelters lack water, and are marked only by a few sherds and tiles.²⁵ Changes in the proportion of sites of each size suggest that ARS was

²⁵ Ponsich, *Implantation Rurale* I, pp. 16-17.

more expensive in the fifth and sixth centuries than it had been in the fourth. Of the sites which yielded Roman-period ARS, 61% were identified as villas by Ponsich. This should not be taken as any indication that the majority of the Roman period inhabitants of the valley lived in grand houses!—it simply implies that ARS was pretty expensive, and more wealthy people had it than poor people. Nevertheless in the Roman period fully 28% of the sites were small, again according to Ponsich: either “farms” or “shelters.”

There is a significant change when the Vandals invade. The percentage of villas rises to 71% , while the farms comprise only 21% of the sites, and there are no shelters at all. Presumably ARS has gotten more expensive, and poorer people, who live at smaller sites, can no longer afford to buy it. With the arrival of the Visigoths around 500 AD even fewer of the sites are small: only 19%, although a few “shelters” do reappear. In the sixth and seventh centuries, then, ARS seems to have been too expensive for poorer people to afford for the most part, just as one would expect if the trade in ARS had been heavily dependent on Roman transportation subsidies.

Without the Roman traffic in army supplies and in supplies for Rome and Constantinople, shipping schedules in the Mediterranean may be expected to have become much more erratic. This, too, finds some confirmation in the archaeological record: in the fourth century only three or four different forms of ARS were being imported to Baetica. As different areas in North Africa are thought to have produced each of the different forms, this suggests a regular relationship with a few specific production centers in North Africa. By contrast, in 425 there were five different forms being imported to Baetica, and this despite the fact that less than a quarter as many sherds have been found from this period. By 450 there were six different forms, and in 475 there were seven. The number of forms only drops again to four in 600, at the very tail end of the story of ARS in Baetica. Surely this indicates a lack of regular sources of supply; a much more haphazard situation than before.

If Roman exploitation of the silver and lead mines of the Sierra Morena had the effect of subsidizing transport far upstream on the Guadalquivir, then the collapse of the mining industry after the fall of Rome might be reflected in a difficulty in obtaining ARS in these areas. In order to analyze the settlement pattern, I located each site where ARS sherds had been found on a large-scale map of the valley (1:50 000) and recorded its elevation, its distance from the

Guadalquivir, its distance from the Via Augusta (the main Roman road through the area), and so forth. My results support this idea. Even in the Roman period, there are fewer identifiable sites with ARS upstream of Castulo, where the Guadalquivir is no longer navigable even for small boats. After the end of Roman government in the area, however the amount of ARS found upstream decreases sharply, and there is no evidence of any recovery in the Visigothic period. The average elevation above sea level (a fairly accurate measurement of distance upstream, as the elevation rises gradually as you go upstream) is significantly lower in the fifth century than it had been in the Roman period; there is no significant difference in elevation between the fifth century and the Visigothic period; that is, no sign of recovery.

It might be argued that there was a higher percentage of smaller sites further upstream, so that it is actually only the smaller sites that no longer have ARS. But this is not the case. Even when the calculations are repeated using only those sites identified as villas by Ponsich, there is still a significant decline from the fourth century to the fifth, and no significant change between the fifth century and the sixth.

If, as I have suggested, the fall of Rome meant that the local road system was no longer kept in repair, we should see that, too, reflected in the distribution patterns. Changes in the settlement pattern between the fourth and the seventh centuries indeed suggest just such a breakdown in the later periods. With the Vandal invasions came a sharp decline in the average distance of the sites from the Guadalquivir river. Roman sites further away from the river tended to disappear around 400, whereas the new sites that appear at this time tend to be closer to the river. With the advent of the Visigoths around 500 AD, again more sites appear near the river, while those further away disappear. It seems likely that the increased difficulty of getting ARS meant that sites further from the easy transportation of the river simply could not get it at all, and so vanish from the archaeological record.

In confirmation of this impression, a calculation of the average elevation above the Guadalquivir of the sites where ARS was found also shows that ARS was found at sites averaging closer to the river (and hence lower) in the aftermath of the collapse of Rome, presumably at least in part due to difficulty in obtaining ARS. The evidence for this is somewhat muddier than for the preceding statistic, because at the same time there was a tendency to move up onto hills (see

below), which increased elevation and countered the more general trend.

The information that later forms of ARS are found on average closer to the Guadalquivir and further downstream than the fourth-century forms suggests in turn that perhaps the roads were not being kept up, so that transport became more difficult at any distance from a navigable river. If so, one would expect that settlement would gradually drift away from the roads, and that ARS dating to the Visigothic period would not be found near the roads. This is, however, not the case for the *Via Augusta*, the main Roman road through the Guadalquivir valley. Following the collapse of Roman rule, finds of ARS were on average significantly closer to the *Via Augusta* than they had been before. New sites which appear in the Visigothic period averaged closer still. Why should ARS be found closer to the *Via Augusta* after the departure of the Romans than under their rule?

The answer lies in still another statistic: the distance of the sites with ARS from the nearest identifiable road (generally not, therefore, the *Via Augusta*, but some minor byway). It is not easy to tell which modern roads were at one time Roman or post-Roman roads, but some are clearly ancient, and others can be assumed on the grounds that there must, for example, have been a fairly direct road connecting Los Palacios and Dos Hermanas. In any case there is no reason to suppose that I am more wrong for the Roman period sites than for the later ones, or vice versa. But the sites with fifth-century forms of ARS are significantly further from these small roads on average than the Roman sites are, and the sites with sixth-century ARS average still further away. The importance of these small roads as a factor in site selection seems to have decreased steadily from the time the Romans left until the early seventh century at least. Armed with this additional piece of information, we can now see that after the collapse of Roman rule in Baetica, the network of local roads gradually fell into decay, but the main artery, the *Via Augusta*, was more or less kept up, and indeed gained in importance as the other roads became impassable. Of course the Guadalquivir also gained importance as a transport route at the same time. This fits well with the surviving laws of Leovigild, who insisted that major roads and navigable rivers should not be blocked.

In addition, the percentage of sites that are villages or towns rises from 5% in the Roman period to 11% in the fifth century. With the

arrival of the Visigoths around 500 AD, an even higher proportion of the sites are villages or towns: 12%. This suggests that transportation problems made it difficult to get ARS if one was not on a major transportation route, as most towns are.

A second factor in the availability of ARS in the Guadalquivir valley is an increased political instability in Baetica in the fifth and sixth centuries, which caused traders to stay away from the area to a certain extent. Ponsich's surface survey bears this impression out: significantly more of the new sites which appear in the fifth century were located on hilltops, than had been in the Roman period. Presumably this was for reasons of security. Even more of the new sites which appear in the Visigothic period also were located on hills. The impression is certainly one of instability and uncertainty.

It is as dangerous as it is tempting to try to relate archaeological trends to specific historical events, and I do so here only with the caveat that the apparent associations may easily be due to other causes. There are, then, four historical events during these three centuries which may be reflected in the archaeological record. The first of these, the Vandal invasion of 409 AD, we have already seen. The second is the Visigothic move into Spain in 497, quickly followed by the excellent regency of Theodoric the Ostrogoth from 507 to 526. The third is the Byzantine reconquest of North Africa in 533, followed by their reconquest of southern Spain in 551. And finally, the fourth is the expulsion of the Byzantines from Spain around 625 under King Sisenand.

In order to see the effect of different political events, I have calculated the average number of sherds per year for each quarter-century between 300 and 625 AD. There is, to begin with, a sharp decline in the numbers of sherds of ARS per year between 400 and 425, which must surely be attributed to the Vandalic invasions of 409 and the subsequent efforts of the Visigoths between 415 and 418.

Interestingly, the Vandal occupation of North Africa, the source of the pottery, does not seem, based on this survey, to have had any deleterious effect on the pottery supply. To the contrary, by 450 the amount of pottery reaching the Guadalquivir valley had apparently doubled again, returning to almost half the fourth-century level. This is in opposition to Fulford's argument that the problem lies in the supply of pottery emanating from North Africa, but here I follow Reynolds, who argues for Valencia, where imports of ARS also cease soon after the start of the seventh century, that "the abundance of

seventh century forms on sites in North Africa and in the East, shows that this seems to be a cease in demand, rather than in supply.”²⁶ The number of sherds per year remains fairly high in 475, dipping again around 500, perhaps as a result of the incursions of the Visigoths in 497.

Under the regency of Theodoric in 525 there is a rise in the number of sherds per year, but by 550, after both the death of Theodoric and the Byzantine reconquest, the number of sherds per year has fallen to a new low, from which it does not recover. It is perhaps significant that the drop comes before the Byzantines invaded Spain, suggesting that the disruption in the amount of ARS present could be a supply problem from North Africa rather than a problem with demand in Spain.

Finally, the very last of the sherds of ARS found in the Guadalquivir valley date no later than 625, which is when King Sisenand finally succeeded in ejecting the Byzantines from Spain. It seems possible that the two facts are not coincidental. Perhaps the Visigothic government's growing isolationism, boosted by no longer having to negotiate with the Byzantines, also made it difficult or impossible to import ARS from North Africa, or perhaps the terms of the treaty were such as to discourage any further contact between the Visigoths and the Byzantines who still held North Africa.

The picture is consistent and fairly clear, though it has to be filled in from what we know from the historians and chroniclers. Under the Romans in the fourth century AD, Baetica was a thriving province of the Empire, closely tied both politically and economically to the center and to other provinces. Baetican farmers raised olives and wheat. They kept most of the wheat for themselves, but they exported the olive oil: not to Rome, in the fourth century, but to the soldiers on the northern frontier, as we know from the Spanish amphorae found there. Perhaps grain or olive ships coming from North Africa made stops at Cadiz or Seville to take on more oil; in any case there was considerable and regular trade between North Africa and southern Spain.

The Roman army kept up the roads, or forced the local peasants to do it. Roads were necessary for the movement of troops through the area, and also for the other main industry of southern Spain:

²⁶ P. Reynolds, “African Red Slip and Late Roman Imports in Valencia,” in T. Blagg (et. al). *Papers in Iberian Archaeology*. B.A.R., 193. Oxford 1984, p. 481.

mining in the Sierra Morena. These mines were owned by the Roman government, and all the profits went to the government. Roman soldiers guarded the mines, and Roman roads led away from the mines to the river.

When despite infusions of Spanish olive oil the army on the frontier faltered in 409 AD, and the Vandals, Alans, and Sueves crossed the Pyrenees into Spain, centralized government essentially broke down, and what government there was in the fifth century was largely at the level of individual cities. In the absence of a central government to organize the process, or of a monetarized economy, mining was all but abandoned in the area, and consequently the mountainous regions far upstream were left to their own devices, isolated from the main stream of life down in the valley.

Local aristocrats, freed from the restraints imposed by Rome, fought among themselves with joyful abandon. Anyone who could moved to a defensible site, often on a hilltop where you might have some warning of an enemy's approach. Naturally the small roads between cities were not kept up, since they only facilitated attacks. And naturally they deteriorated rapidly. Probably most of them had never been paved, but were only smoothed dirt tracks even under the Romans, perhaps suitable for a small cart, and perhaps only for donkeys. The Via Augusta would not have been kept up either, not when the local lords were gleefully casting off all the onerous duties which the Romans had balanced on their shoulders. But the Via Augusta was built of stone, designed by Roman engineers. Large parts of it still survive today. A century of neglect would not do it any very serious harm.

When the Visigoths arrived around 500 AD, they had to fight the local aristocrats to get control of the area and reestablish a central government. During the fighting conditions deteriorated still further, but then under the regency of Theodoric—notably while Spain was part of a larger unit—conditions seem to have improved slightly, with somewhat more trade going on, and imported goods perhaps becoming somewhat less expensive. Grain was exported to Italy at government expense.

But the Visigothic kings who succeeded Theodoric were never strong enough to force the local aristocrats to repair the roads. They may, for military reasons and to preserve their own legitimacy, have spent some effort on repairs to the Via Augusta, but if so these efforts did not extend to local roads. Nor could the kings coax their subjects

down off their defensible hills. Indeed, the local aristocrats (including the bishops) seem to have remained so powerful throughout the Visigothic period that any policies formed by the kings seem almost incidental: the true course of the Guadalquivir valley remained that which had been set in the fifth century: local government, each city fighting the next, and consequently an insecure peasantry, and a lack of communication with the larger Mediterranean world.

It may seem far-fetched to draw such wide-ranging conclusions based only on a few hundred potsherds. But potsherds are what we have, and we must use them to their fullest extent. Nor is their contribution unimportant. They show us that imports of fine tablewares to the Guadalquivir valley declined by fully fifty percent following the arrival of the Vandals, and did not recover to any significant degree with the arrival of the Visigoths. They show us that even those wares which arrived in the valley often failed, in the later periods, to reach isolated areas upstream or far from the river or major roads. They show that imported tablewares reached many fewer small sites after the fall of Rome, and that the number of types of wares became much more varied. They show, finally, a tendency for the later sites to be located on hilltops, rather than in the plain.

It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that these changes indicate an increasing isolation of the Iberian Peninsula in both the fifth century and the Visigothic period, a general collapse of the internal transportation network, especially at the local level, and general instability and insecurity. As a result of the collapse of Roman government, imported tablewares (and presumably other luxury goods) became very expensive, and finally, at the beginning of the seventh century, ceased to be imported at all.

Catalogue of forms

My catalogue includes only very brief general descriptions of each form; more detailed ones are to be found in Hayes' *Late Roman Pottery*. For each of the sherds I examined, the diameter at the rim is given where it could be determined; in all cases it had to be estimated. In many cases the sherd was too small to permit even an estimate of the diameter. I have also given a rough idea of the texture, surface treatment, and fabric and slip color for each sherd.

I have given the provenance of each sherd as it appeared on the

card or scrap of paper attached to its bag or box, and where possible I have indicated the area and number of the corresponding site in Ponsich's publications. A few of the sites were not originally included in Ponsich's survey; these do not have such numbers.

Finally, at the end of each section I have indicated how many sherds of this form were illustrated by Ponsich, and how many more were mentioned by him without being illustrated. Where there were problems with Ponsich's identifications, I have indicated them, along with my solutions.

Form 52

Hayes form 52 (Lamboglia 35) is a small thin-walled bowl with a straight steep wall and broad flat rim. The fabric is fine, with thin matte slip inside and over the rim. The rim rises slightly; the lip is either plain or slightly hooked. Diameter 11-23 cm.

Hayes calls this shape fairly common, and mentions a piece from Barcelona and one from Baelo, though his identification of the latter is uncertain. It is not mentioned by Ortiz in his catalogue of forms from Cartagena, and Reynolds mentions it as surprisingly uncommon at Valencia, but it is common at other coastal sites in the Iberian peninsula.²⁷

Hayes dates this form between 280/300 and the late fourth century, with late variants dating to the early fifth century or a little later. The one example of this form has therefore been counted as dating to the fourth century.

1. RE 1992/63. D. rim est. 18 cm. Fabric fine with lime inclusions, pale orange. Slipped over top of rim only, thick glossy orange. Panther running l. on outside wall below rim. Provenance: Arva/Castillejo (Lora del Río 64).

²⁷ R. Méndez Ortiz, "El transito a la dominacion Bizantina en Cartagena: las producciones cerámicas de la plaza de los tres reyes," *Antigüedad y Cristianismo* V (1988) 31-163; P. Reynolds, "African Red Slip" p. 476; L. Caballero Zoreda, "Cerámica sigillata Clara decorada de los tipos A, A/C y C," *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 28 (nueva serie) (1971), 227-262; *idem*, "Cerámica sigillata clara de tipo 'D' estampada de las provincias de Murcia y Almería," *Miscelánea Arqueológica* (1974) 365-381.

Ponsich does not illustrate any examples of this shape, nor does he mention Lamboglia 35.

Form 58

Hayes form 58 (Lamboglia 52A) is a flat-based dish, generally large, with curved walls and a short flat rim. There are normally grooves on both rim and floor. Diameter 22-42 cm. (mostly 27-36 cm).

Two types can be distinguished:

- A) Fabric fairly fine, generally hard-fired to brownish or maroon color, with slightly lustrous slip of same color over whole vessel.
- B) Coarser fabric, as Form 59 and following. Fairly granular, generally fired orange-red to red, with semi-lustrous or matte slip over inside and upper part of outside only. Downturned rims, with groove(s) on the rim.

Hayes rates this shape as fairly common, and cites an example from Tarragona. There are a number of examples of both 58A and 58B at Valencia. It is not, however, mentioned by Ortiz at Cartagena.

Hayes dates both A and B between 290/300 and 375 AD, so that sites which yielded Form 58 have been counted as having imported pottery under Late Roman government.

Form 58 A

1. RE 1988/100. D. unknown. Fabric coarse, pinkish-orange. Slipped inside and over rim, thick orange. Provenance: Olivos de Santa Paula (Carmona 127).
2. Unregistered. D. rim est. 22 cm. Fabric medium coarse, dark orange/brownish. Slipped inside and out thin, reddish. Provenance: Los Alberquillos (Lora del Río 210).
3. RE 1992/13. D. rim est. 18 cm. Fabric coarse, dark red. Slipped inside and out, thin dark pinkish-red. Provenance: Los Morales (Lora del Río 104).

Form 58 B

1. Unregistered. D. unknown. Provenance: Villar de Brenes (Alcala del Río 143).

2. RE 1988/97. D. from outside rim ca. 24 cm. Slipped over top of rim only, thin fine dark orange. Provenance: Santa Marina (Carmona 82).
3. Unregistered. D. unknown. Fabric medium coarse, pinkish orange. Slipped inside and over rim, thin red-orange. Provenance: Cantabrica (Carmona 112).
4. Unregistered. D. rim est. 16 cm. Fabric medium coarse. Slipped inside and over upper part of outside, semi-lustrous orange. Provenance: Los Cerros Blancos (Carmona 172).
5. Unregistered. D. rim est. 20 cm. Fabric medium coarse, pinkish-orange. Slipped inside and over rim, thin glossy orange. Provenance: Malagon (Lora del Río 23).
6. RE 1992/31. D. rim est. 20 cm. Fabric medium coarse, light orange. Slipped inside and over rim, thin glossy orange. Provenance: El Portero (Lora del Río 93).
7. RE 1992/13. D. rim est. 14 cm. Fabric medium coarse, light orange. Slipped inside and upper part of outside, matte orange. Provenance: Los Morales (Lora del Río 104).
8. RE 1988/173. D. rim est. 18 cm. Fabric rather coarse, pink. Slipped inside and upper part of outside thin, pink. Provenance: Cantillana (Lora del Río 13).
9. RE 1988/337. D. unknown. Fabric fairly coarse, light orange. Slipped inside and over rim, thick glossy dark red. Provenance: El Judío (La Campana 133).
10. RE 1992/63. D. rim est. 16 cm. Fabric medium coarse, yellow. Slipped inside and over rim, thin orange-red. Provenance: Arva/Castillejo (Lora del Río 64).
11. Unregistered. D. rim est. 24 cm. Fabric coarse. Slipped inside and over rim, thick bright orange. Provenance: Garrota del Moro (Alcala del Río 3).

There are nine examples of Form 58 illustrated in Ponsich's publication. Despite this, Ponsich only mentions Lamboglia 52 once, and in general he seems not to have distinguished between Hayes forms 58 and 59. Both are fourth-century forms, and will be taken to indicate the presence of ARS in the Late Roman period.

Form 59

Hayes form 59 (Lamboglia form 51) is a large flat-based dish with a broad more or less horizontal rim, stepped up in two fasciae, the outer (which is broader) bearing either a groove or a slight upturn at the lip; the wall is curved. Fabric fairly granular, generally orange-red to red, rather coarse and thick. The slip is either thick and semi-lustrous or thin and matte, on the inside and the upper part of the outside. Hayes distinguishes two types, but they cannot be distinguished from each other when, as invariably here, only the rim survives.

This form was imitated with a local production at Conimbriga.²⁸ Hayes calls 59A very common, and cites examples from all over the Mediterranean and Europe, though not from Spain. Both 59A and 59B are fairly common at Valencia, but although Form 59B was common at Cartagena, only one piece of Form 59A was mentioned.

Hayes dates form 59A to 320-380/400; 59B extends from 320-420, possibly slightly later. Carandini and others also place this form in the fourth century based on finds at Piazza Armerina in Sicily; it is found in contexts of the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth at Ostia.²⁹ Torterella found 32 sherds of form 59B in contexts earlier than the construction of the Theodosian Wall at Carthage (400-425) and only four sherds from contexts contemporary or later than the construction of the wall.³⁰ Ortiz suggests a slightly later date for one of the examples from Cartagena, based on the stamp type.

1. Unregistered. D. unknown, since lip is missing. Fabric coarse, light orange. Slipped inside and over rim matte dark red, medium thick. Provenance: Fuente Quintillos (Seville 144).

²⁸ M. Delgado, "Terra Sigillata Clara de Conimbriga," *Conimbriga* VI (1967) 47 ff.

²⁹ A. Carandini *et al.*, *Atlante delle forme ceramiche* I. Rome, 1981.

³⁰ S. Tortorella, *La sigillata africana a Cartagine fra il 400 d.C. e la conquista vandala: I dati dello scavo della missione archeologica italiana*. Roma, 1980.

2. Unregistered. D. from outside rim est. 20 cm. Fabric medium to coarse, light orange. Slipped inside and over rim thick glossy dark orange. Provenance: Autoroute Geo-Cadix P-no 4. 304.8/397.2 (Dos Hermanas).

3. Unregistered? D. rim est. 14 cm. Fabric rather coarse orange, slightly micaceous. Slipped inside and over rim thick glossy dark orange. Provenance: Peña de la Sal /Arva (Lora del Río 63).

4. Unregistered. D. rim est. 23 cm. Fabric fairly fine, pinkish-orange. Slip nearly worn away, but on inside at least thin and red. Provenance: Cortijo de Santa Maria 961-35 (Sanlucar la Mayor) (Villalba del Alcor).

5. RE 1992/206. D. unknown. Fabric fairly coarse, soft and orange. Slip nearly worn away, thin matte red. Provenance: El Almuedano (Salteras) (Seville 101).

6. RE 1993/28. D. unknown. Fabric coarse, dark reddish-orange. Slipped inside and over rim thin, lustrous pinkish-orange. Provenance: Cerro El Cazar (El Coronil).

7. Unregistered. D. unknown. Fabric coarse, brownish-red. Slipped inside and over rim, thin matte light orange to reddish-orange. Provenance: Dehesilla (Aznalcollar).

8. RE 1993/33. D. unknown. Fabric coarse, orange. Slipped over top of rim only, thin bright orange. Provenance: La Motilla (El Coronil).

9. RE 1992/220. D. rim est. 24 cm. Fabric coarse, bright orange. No slip remains. Provenance: Tocina—Los Zamorales (Lora del Río 111).

10. RE 1992/217. D. rim est. 16 cm. Fabric medium coarse, pinkish-red but poorly fired. Slipped inside and upper part of outside, fairly thick glossy dark red-brown. Provenance: Tocina—Los Zamorales (Lora del Río 111).

11. RE 1993/12. D. rim est. 16 cm. Fabric coarse, orange. Slipped over inside and top part of outside, thin bright orange. Provenance: Piñera (Alcala del Guadaira) (Seville 136).

12. RE 1988/892. D. rim est. 14 cm. Fabric medium coarse, light orange. Slipped inside and over rim, thick orange. Provenance: La Moncloa (La Campana 99).
13. RE 1988/175. D. unknown. Fabric fairly coarse, light pink-orange. Slipped inside and over rim, thick glossy red. Provenance: Cantillana (Lora del Río 13).
14. RE 1988/526. D. outside rim est. 23 cm. Fabric medium coarse, orange. Slipped inside and over rim, thin orange. Provenance: Las Botijas (Dos Hermanas 56).
15. RE 1988/395. D. unknown. Fabric medium fine, soft, yellow-orange. Slipped inside and over rim, thin shiny orange. Provenance: La Moncloa (La Campana 98).
16. Unregistered. D. rim est. 22 cm. Fabric rather coarse, light yellowish orange. Slipped inside and over rim, red-pinkish orange. Provenance: Romero 462,5/348,5 (Palma del Río 127).
17. Unregistered. D. outside rim est. 20 cm. Fabric medium fine, light red-orange with black inclusions and some mica. Slipped inside and over rim, thin reddish-orange. Provenance: Tablada Torcillo 451,6/349,1 (Palma del Río 75).
18. RE 1992/70. D. unknown. Fabric medium coarse, light orange-red with some white inclusions. Slipped inside only thin red. Provenance: El Achebuchal (La Campana 86).
19. Unregistered. D. rim est. 18 cm. Fabric coarse, dark red-orange. Slipped inside and over top of outside glossy orange. Provenance: Haza de los Laticos (Posadas 23).
20. RE 1988/122. D. rim est. 16 cm. Fabric medium, pale orange. Slipped inside and over top of outside, glossy bright orange. Provenance: Judio (Carmona 134).
21. RE 1988/50. D. rim est. 24 cm. Fabric coarse, orange. Slipped inside and over top of outside very thin. Provenance: La Era (Carmona 91).

22. Unregistered. D. unknown. Fabric coarse pinkish-red. Slipped inside and over rim, very thin pinkish-red. Provenance: Torrechuelo (E) (Carmona 58).

Ponsich illustrates nine sherds of this common shape, and his illustrations make it clear that his identification is correct, although he does lump in the Hayes 58 forms with the Hayes 59. He also mentions, without illustrating, thirty examples of Lamboglia form 51, which have been counted as fourth century.

Form 61

Hayes form 61 (Lamboglia forms 53 and 54) is a flat-based dish like forms 58 and 59, but with a vertical or slightly incurved rim, flattened on the outside to give a more or less triangular profile, which joins the body with a sharp edge or a groove on the interior. Generally large (D. rim 22-41 cm). Ware as forms 58B and 59. Hayes' concordance lists Lamboglia's form 54 as corresponding to his form 61 A; he tentatively lists Lamboglia's form 53 as corresponding to his form 61 B.

Two types can be distinguished:

- A) Rim straight or lightly curved, marked angle.
- B) Rim vertical, tending to bend outward.

This form is very common throughout the Mediterranean. Hayes cites examples from Valencia and from Herdade de Carrão in Portugal. Both A and B are common at Cartagena, and Reynolds reports that form 61A appears frequently at Valencia, although 61B is not very common there.

Hayes dates form 61A to 325-400/420, possibly 425, based on the Athenian Agora excavations. Fulford argues for a very short span from 400-425; Tortorella, on the basis of excavations around the Theodosian Wall in Carthage, suggests an end point around 425. Hayes dates 61B to 400-500. Fulford agrees that at Carthage form 61B is found between 400 and 475/500, although some few examples do survive into the sixth century. Carandini and others do not distinguish between the two sub-types, and date both to the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries. I have counted 61A as evidence of occupation under Roman government, and 61B as evidence of occupation in the fifth century. Presumably even if 61A does

date to the very end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, most of the 61A present in Baetica must have arrived there before the Vandalic invasions of 409, while most of the 61B must have arrived after the invasion.

Form 61 A

1. Unregistered. D. rim est. 20 cm. Fabric slightly coarse, dark reddish-orange. Slipped inside and upper part of outside medium thick matte reddish-orange. Provenance: Cortijo de Santa Maria 961-35 (Sanlucar la Mayor)(Villalba del Alcor).
2. RE 1992/206. D. unknown. Fabric medium coarse, dark orange. Slipped inside and upper part of outside thin matte orange. Provenance: El Almuedano (Salteras) (Seville 101).
3. REP 1993/33. D. rim est. 21 cm. Fabric coarse, light orange. Slipped inside and upper part of outside, thin red. Provenance: La Motilla (El Coronil).
4. RE 1992/202. D. rim est. 23 cm. Fabric fairly coarse, orange-brown. Slipped inside and upper part of outside, thick semi-glossy dark orange-brown. Provenance: San Antonio (Seville 80).
5. REP 1993/9. D. rim est. 24 cm. Fabric fairly fine and soft, light orange. Slip entirely worn off. Provenance: Chozas (Alcala del Río 84).
6. Unregistered. D. rim est. 24 cm. Fabric medium coarse with some lime, pinkish-orange. Unslipped? Provenance: La Mesa (Lora del Río 42).
7. RE 1988/892. D. rim est. 24 cm. Fabric fairly coarse, lighter pinkish-orange. Slipped inside and out thin matte orange. Provenance: La Moncloa (La Campana 99).
8. RE 1988/526. D. unknown. Fabric fairly fine, orange. Slipped inside and upper part of outside, very thin matte reddish-orange. Provenance: Las Botijas (Dos Hermanas 56).

9. Unregistered. D. unknown. Fabric medium coarse, dark orange, slightly micaceous. Slipped inside and upper part of outside, thin bright orange. Provenance: Estrella (Posadas 39).
10. Unregistered. D. rim est. 24 cm. Fabric medium coarse, light orange. Slipped inside and upper part of outside, thin dark red-orange. Provenance: Isla de la Jurada (Palma del Río 154).
11. Unregistered. D. rim est. 22 cm. Fabric medium fine, dark orange-red. Slipped inside only (?), thin matte dark red. Provenance: Cortijo de Quiñones (El Rubio).
12. RE 1988/392. D. rim est. 22 cm. Fabric rather coarse, light orange with lime and voids. Slip mostly worn off, dark red. Provenance: Ramblilla (La Campana 89).
13. RE 1988/328. D. rim est. 20 cm. Fabric medium coarse, soft, pale orange. Slipped inside and upper part of outside, thin bright orange. Provenance: Manuel Nieto (La Campana 84).
14. RE 1988/324. D. unknown. Fabric fairly coarse, pink-orange. Slipped inside and over rim, matte pink-orange. Provenance: Fuente de la Higuera (La Campana 59).
15. Unregistered. D. rim est. 24 cm. Fabric relatively fine, light brown. Slipped inside and over rim, dark red. Provenance: Romero 462,5/348,5 (Palma del Río 127).
16. Unregistered. D. unknown. Fabric rather coarse, dark orange with some dark inclusions. Slipped inside only, thin red. Provenance: Tierras de la Gruella 446,3/349,2 (Palma del Río 49).
17. Unregistered. D. unknown. Fabric medium fine, soft, light orange. Slipped inside only, very thin reddish orange. Provenance: Tablada Torcillo 451,6/349,1 (Palma del Río 75).
18. Unregistered. D. unknown. Fabric fairly fine, dark brownish-orange. Slipped inside only, thin orange. Provenance: El Botijon 473/357,4 (Posadas 16).

19. Unregistered. D. rim est. 20 cm. Fabric rather coarse with many inclusions, light orange. Slipped inside only, very thin bright orange. Provenance: Malpica (Palma del Río 143).

20. RE 1992/83. D. rim est. 22 cm. Fabric fairly coarse, red-orange. Slipped inside and upper part of outside, thin brownish-orange. Provenance: Cortijo de las Guerras (Lora del Río 74).

21. RE 1992/1-3. D. rim est. 26 cm. Fabric rather coarse, reddish-orange with lime. Slipped inside and upper part of outside, thin light orange, reddish in places. Provenance: Azanaque (Lora del Río 144).

22. RE 1991/176. D. rim est. 22 cm. Fabric coarse, red with black inclusions. Slipped inside only, thin reddish-brown. Provenance: El Castillo (Lora del Río 212).

23. RE 1992/30-32. D. rim est. 22 cm. Fabric medium coarse, light orange-red. Slipped inside and upper part of outside, brownish-red. Provenance: El Portero (Lora del Río 93).

24. RE 1992/19. D. rim est. 24 cm. Fabric medium coarse, light pinkish-orange. Slipped thin pinkish-orange. Provenance: Los Vilares (Lora del Río 97).

25. RE 1988/93. D. rim est. 26 cm. Fabric fairly fine, reddish brown. Slipped inside only, very thin reddish brown. Provenance: Torroj (Carmona 61).

26. Unregistered. D. rim est. 22 cm. Fabric coarse, soft very light orange. Slipped inside only, light orange. Provenance: Arroyo de la Casa (Alcala del Río 19).

Ponsich publishes 25 illustrations of this type. He identifies many other sites as having yielded Lamboglia 54. In addition, Ponsich refers frequently to a type he identifies as Lamboglia's form 34/35, a large bowl with wide everted rim and rather high foot, which is said tentatively by Hayes to correspond to his form 94A. Hayes form 94A is dated to the late fifth to early sixth century A.D., and is common at both Valencia and Conimbriga. However, Ponsich seems to identify Hayes form 61 as his 34/35, even though his form 54 also corre-

sponds to Hayes form 61.³¹ Both of these groups have therefore been counted as having imported pottery in the fourth century. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that a certain proportion of them probably were really 61B, a distinction Ponsich did not make, and therefore should have been dated to the fifth century rather than the fourth.

Form 61 B

1. Unregistered. D. rim est. 20 cm. Fabric fairly coarse, deep red. Slipped inside and over rim, fairly thick deep red. Provenance: Paterna Ouest 468,8/358,5 (Posadas 34).

2. RE 1988/122. D. rim est. 24 cm. Fabric coarse, light brown. Slipped inside and upper part of outside, thin dark orange. Provenance: Judío (Carmona 134).

3. Unregistered. D. rim est. 23 cm. Fabric very coarse with lime, pinkish-orange. Slipped, fine thin pinkish-orange. Provenance: Garrota del Moro (Alcalá del Río 3).

Ponsich published three illustrations of form 61 B. He does not mention Lamboglia 53.

Form 58B/59/61: One base sherd was not identifiable more closely than this, but can nevertheless be securely dated to the fourth or early fifth century:

1. Unregistered. D. unknown. Fabric coarse, pale orange. Slipped inside only, thick glossy red-orange. Provenance: Salteras (Seville 49).

Form 67

Hayes form 67 (Lamboglia form 42 and possibly 41 as well) is a large bowl with a stepped rim and a strong curved inflexion joined to the lip, a distinct exterior concavity and the rest curved the other way joined to the wall. The lip is thickened and sometimes hanging, set off by a groove or two on the upper side. The body is curved and

³¹ Ponsich, *Implantation rurale* I, fig. 14/2 (Seville, site # 122), p. 56; fig. 14/5 (Seville, site # 138), p. 56; fig. 18.4 (Alcalá del Río, site # 4), p. 72 and *passim*.

smoothly sunken. Ware as forms 58-61, sometimes heavy and coarse. The slip may be opaque and fine, semi-lustrous or lustrous, and thick. Diameter 20-45 cm.

Hayes distinguishes three groups based on the stamped decoration, but from the rim sherds it is not possible to distinguish among them.

Not many examples of Form 67 were found at Cartagena. Nevertheless it is common at Valencia and elsewhere in both the eastern and the western Mediterranean, and on the Atlantic coast. Hayes calls the form very common, and cites an example from Conimbriga, and one from Algarve in Portugal.³²

Hayes dates form 67 to 360-475. Carandini finds this form at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries at Ostia; it appears also in the final levels at Conimbriga of 465-468. Fulford dates it between 360 and 425/450 at Carthage; apparently only small quantities were produced after 450.³³

1. Unregistered. D. unknown. Fabric fairly coarse, light pinkish red. Slipped inside and over rim, fairly thick and glossy pinkish-red. Provenance: Autoroute Geo-Cadix P-no 4. 304.8/397.2 (Dos Hermanas).
2. REP 22.446. D. rim est. 22 cm. Fabric medium coarse, pinkish-orange. Slipped inside and over rim, fairly thick and rather glossy dark red. Provenance: Peña de la Sal /Arva (Lora del Río 63).
3. RE 1992/215. D. unknown. Fabric fairly coarse, thin, orange. Slipped inside and over rim, thin pink-orange. Provenance: Cerro Barranco (Utrera).
4. Unregistered. D. rim est. 26 cm. Fabric coarse, dark red-orange. Slipped inside and over rim, thick glossy bright orange. Provenance: Tocina 963-232 (332?) (Los Zamorales?) (Lora del Río 111).
5. RE 1988/526. D. rim est. 24 cm. Fabric fairly coarse, light pinkish-red. Slipped inside and over rim, fairly thick matte dark red. Provenance: Las Botijas (Dos Hermanas 56).

³² The last two examples are listed in the *Supplement*.

³³ M. Fulford, *Excavations at Carthage: The British Mission 2: The Avenue du President Habib Bourguiba, Salambo*. London, 1984.

6. RE 1988/392. D. unknown. Fabric medium coarse, light pinkish-brown. Slipped inside and over rim, thin matte pinkish-brown. Provenance: Ramblilla (La Campana 89).

7. Unregistered. D. rim est. 35 cm. Fabric fairly coarse, orange. Slipped inside only, pinkish-red. Provenance: Romero 462,5/348,5 (Palma del Río 127).

8. RE 1992/83. D. unknown. Fabric medium coarse, pale orange. Slipped inside and over rim, very thin matte reddish-orange. Provenance: Las Guerras (Lora del Río 74).

9. RE 1992/13. D. rim est. 20 cm. Fabric medium coarse, light red. Slipped both sides thin matte dark red. Provenance: Los Morales (Lora del Río 104).

10. RE 1992/31. D. unknown. Fabric medium coarse, orange. Slipped inside only, fine orange. Provenance: El Portero (Lora del Río 93).

11. RE 1992/19. D. rim est. 12 cm. Fabric medium fine, light orange. Slipped inside only, thin orange. Provenance: Los Villares (Lora del Río 97).

12. RE 1992/40. D. rim est. 26 cm. Fabric rather coarse, dark red. Slipped inside only, thin orange. Provenance: Malagon (Lora del Río 23).

13. RE 1988/70. D. rim est. 24 cm. Fabric rather coarse, orange. Slipped, very thin fine orange. Illustrated in Ponsich. Provenance: Canteras (Carmona 236).

14. Unregistered. D. rim est. 30 cm. Fabric fairly coarse. Slipped inside and over rim, fine orange-red. Provenance: Torreon (Alcala del Río 101).

15. Unregistered. D. rim est. 20 cm. Fabric very fine, light orange. Slipped, fairly thick glossy orange. Provenance: Arroyo de la Casa (Alcala del Río 19).

Ponsich illustrates six examples of this form, and the illustrations confirm his identification. He also mentions thirteen examples of Lamboglia form 42 without illustrating them. Ponsich mentions Lamboglia form 41 once, and this has been counted as the same form. Sites with this form have been dated to the fifth century.

Form 73

Hayes form 73 (Lamboglia form 57) is a small bowl with a broad horizontal rim, and a raised lip thickened in a triangular profile, sometimes with notches on the upper edge; the exterior is hanging. It is marked off from the rest of the rim by a concavity. The wall forms a right angle. Thin fine-grained clay with thin smooth slip on inside and over rim; slip is generally matte. Diameter mostly 15-18 cm; a few smaller examples.

There are two types:

A) with top of rim plain; notches on lip normal.

B) with a groove on the middle of the rim; plain knobbed lip.

This form appears at Valencia, though not at Cartagena. Hayes calls type A "not uncommon," and lists an example from Represa, Beja, Portugal.³⁴ Type B is rare, according to Hayes; Reynolds does not distinguish between the two.

Hayes dates this form to ca. 425-475 AD, though he says that type B may be later. Carandini and others claim to have found this form in deposits from the end of the fourth century at Moosberg. Fulford vacillates between two chronologies: either the end of the fourth century or between 400 and 450. It does not appear in the destruction level at Conimbriga, which suggests that it was not available after about 425.

Form 73 A

1. Unregistered. D. unknown. Fabric fine, soft, micaceous light orange. Slipped inside only, thin dark red. Provenance: Tierras de la Gruella 446.3/349.2 (Palma del Río 49).

³⁴ In the *Supplement*.

Form 73 B

1. RE 1992/63. D. rim est. 18 cm. Fabric medium coarse, orange-red. Slipped, very thin pinkish-red.

Provenance: Arva/Castillejo (Lora del Río 64).

There is only one illustration of form 73 in Ponsich's publications. Nevertheless Ponsich mentions Lamboglia form 57 eleven times. Sites with this form were counted as having been occupied in the fifth century.

Form 76

Hayes form 76 (no Lamboglia form) is a fairly large dish related to form 73, with a low curved wall and broad flat rim rising gently to a knob. Coarse, granular ware. Hayes and Ortiz disagree on the usual slip; Hayes describes the slip as thin and dull, whereas Ortiz describes it as generally fine and lustrous. Diameter 25-36 cm.

Hayes calls this type fairly common (although Ortiz calls it uncommon); it is found at Valencia and throughout the Mediterranean and the Atlantic coast.

Hayes dates form 76 to 425-475 AD on evidence from the Athenian Agora, with which Carandini and Fulford are more or less in agreement.

1. RE 1992/11. D. rim est. 20 cm. Fabric fairly fine, light reddish orange. Slipped inside and over rim, orange. Provenance: Los Parajes (Lora del Río 4).

2. RE 1993/24. D. rim est. 14 cm. Fabric coarse, orange. Slipped inside only, thin red-orange. Provenance: Coria del Río (Dos Hermanas 160).

3. RE 1992/11. D. rim est. 20 cm. Fabric fairly fine, light reddish-orange. Slipped inside and over rim, orange. Provenance: Los Parajes (Lora del Río 4).

4. RE 1992/52. D. rim est. 26 cm. Fabric fairly fine, light orange. Slipped very thin matte orange. Provenance: La Ranilla (Lora del Río 176).

5. Unregistered. D. rim est. 30 cm. Fabric medium fine, orange. Slipped, very thin matte reddish orange.

Provenance: Assa de Habares (Lora del Río 220).

Ponsich does not illustrate this shape, nor does he mention it. Sites with this form were counted as having been occupied in the fifth century.

Form 91

Hayes form 91 (Lamboglia forms 24/25 and 38) is a hemispherical flanged bowl, with a plain or slightly rolled rim generally rounded, yet flat on top. The broad curved flange is generally hooked at the edge.

Four types can be distinguished, which succeed each other chronologically:

A) Open, fairly shallow form. Small thickened lip, just below which issues the flange, which is generally 2 cm. wide. The flange has a hanging lip and an angular profile. Fine-grained ware with thin slip on inside and over flange. Medium-sized (diameter 18-20 cm.).

B) Larger variant of 91A. Deeper than 91A, with the flange and lip similar and the wall less curved. More coarse-grained fabric, with semi-lustrous slip on inside and over flange. Smoothed unslipped exterior. Diameter 19-28 cm.

C) Deeper still, with a short flat rim. Shorter, more rounded flange set lower down on wall. Granular ware with thick semi-lustrous slip inside and over flange; exterior often rough. Diameter 16-18 cm.

D) Small, crudely made version of 91C. Rudimentary flange, still lower on the rim. Ware as in 91C, but generally of poor quality. Diameter 12-15 cm.

This form is documented throughout the Mediterranean and Europe. Hayes calls type A uncommon, types B and D fairly common, and type C common. Although form 91A does not appear, forms 91B and C are common at Valencia, and at Alicante.³⁵ Form 91B

³⁵ M. Tarradell and G. Martín, *Els antigons-Lucentum. Una ciutat romana en el casco urbà de Alicante*. Valencia, 1970.

was found at Conimbriga. Forms A, C, and D were found at Cartagena, although some of the 91D found there may have been a local imitation. There is a reasonable amount of form 91D at Valencia.

Hayes dates form 91 A to the mid-fifth century AD. For 91 B he gives a chronology of 450-530. He dates 91 C from 530 to 600 or later, and 91 D in the first half of the seventh century.³⁶ Carandini and others assert that this form begins much earlier, in the mid-fourth century, based on North African stratigraphy. Carandini begins the production of B almost simultaneously with A, around 383-406. Fulford, basing his chronology on excavations at Carthage, dates A and B between 370 and 500. For 91C Fulford gives an excessively short period of 525-550, and for 91D, from 530 to the seventh century.

Form 91 A

1. Unregistered. D. rim est. 18 cm. Fabric micaceous, dark orange. Slipped dark red. Provenance: Carma (Alcala del Río 149).
2. Unregistered. D. rim est. 14 cm. Slipped inside and over flange only, thin light orange. Provenance: Garrota del Moro (Alcala del Río 3).

Form 91 B

1. Unregistered. D. rim est. 22 cm. Fabric medium coarse, soft, orange. Slipped inside and over flange, thin matte bright light orange. Provenance: La Maria 444,7/343,5 (Palma del Río 29).
2. Unregistered. D. rim est. 18 cm. Fabric medium coarse, orange. Slipped inside and upper part of outside, thin semi-glossy, orange. Provenance: La Era (Carmona 91).
3. Unregistered. D. base est. 14 cm. Fabric coarse, pink-orange. Slipped inside only, thick glossy dark orange. Feather-rouletting on floor. Provenance: Villar de Brenes (Alcala del Río 143).

³⁶ Cf. also J. Riley, "The Pottery from the Cisterns 1977.1, 1977.2 and 1977.3," *Excavations at Carthage VI*. Ann Arbor, 1981, p. 89.

Form 91 C

1. RE 1991/167. D. rim est. 14 cm. Fabric coarse, light orange. Slip entirely worn off. Provenance: Calonge Bajo (La Campana 127).
2. RE 1992/217. D. rim est. 18 cm. Fabric coarse, orange. Slipped inside and over flange, thick glossy bright orange. Provenance: Tocina 963-232 (332?)—Los Zamorales (Lora del Río 111).
3. REP 1992/194. D. unknown. Fabric coarse, red-orange. Slipped inside and over flange at least, thin orange. Provenance: Coriana (Norte) 984-145 (Seville 76).
4. RE 1992/13. D. rim est. 20 cm. Fabric medium coarse, dark orange. Slipped inside and out, a little uneven, orange and red. Provenance: Los Morales (Lora del Río 104).

Ponsich illustrates 17 examples of form 91, of which four are identifiable as 91A, two 91B, seven 91C, and four 91D. It is impossible to distinguish variants at most Ponsich sites due to the lack of illustrations for most pieces, but despite the necessarily imprecise dating, the 23 sherds of Lamboglia form 24/25 and 45 sherds of Lamboglia form 38 have been counted as Visigothic, as have the eleven sherds which Ponsich identifies as Hayes 91. Among the pieces I saw myself, and among those illustrated, however, form 91A has been counted as fifth century, while forms B, C, and D have been counted as Visigothic.

Form 93

Form 93 (no Lamboglia form) is a large bowl with open curving body and flat everted rim. Rather granular fabric with slip, sometimes thin and dull, over inside and rim. Diameter 25-32.5 cm.

Hayes rates this form as common, though Ortiz calls it uncommon; it is found in North Africa including Egypt, and in the Near East. There are a number of examples from Cartagena, and it appears at Conimbriga in the post-destruction levels. There are a few examples from Valencia as well.

Hayes dates form 93 between c. 470 and 540 A.D., and others agree with this in general, so sites with this form have been counted as occupied in the Visigothic period.

1. RE 1992/82. D. unknown. Fabric fine, soft, pale orange. Slipped inside and over rim, thick glossy dark red. Provenance: La Catedra, Lora del Río (Lora del Río 88).

2. Unregistered. D. rim est. 24 cm. Fabric fine, dark orange. Slipped both sides, thin dusky pink-orange. Provenance: Cortijo de Quiñones (Ecija).

3. Unregistered. D. unknown. Fabric coarse, light orange. Slipped inside and over rim, bright semi-lustrous orange. Provenance: Dos Hermanas (Dos Hermanas 1).

Form 94

Form 94 (no Lamboglia form) is a smaller version of form 93. Diameter c. 16-18 cm. Hayes calls it uncommon, and cites examples from Italy, North Africa, and the Athenian Agora only. It does not appear at Cartagena, but it is present in some quantity at Valencia. Dates as form 93 above.

1. RE 1988/392. D. rim est. 18 cm. Fabric fine, orange. Slipped inside and upper part of outside, thick glossy orange. Provenance: Ramblilla (La Campana 89).

2. RE 1992/3. D. rim est. 14 cm. Fabric coarse, dark orange with lime and some voids. Slipped inside and over rim, thick, glossy. Provenance: Azanaque (Lora del Río 146).

There are no illustrations of this form in Ponsich's publications, nor does he mention any. The two sherds listed above have been dated to the Visigothic period.

Form 99

Hayes form 99 (Lamboglia form 1) is an almost hemispherical bowl with a heavy almond-shaped rolled rim. The wall is more or less curved, bell-shaped and thin. Granular fabric, thick lustrous slip over the inside and sometimes as far as halfway down the outside. Diameter 14.5-21 cm., regularly 17-20 cm.

Three types can be distinguished:

- A) Pronounced large heavy rim.
- B) Rim more bell-shaped, smaller. Tendency to a coarser fabric with rough exterior.
- C) Like B but still smaller.

This form is found throughout the Mediterranean and on the Atlantic coast, and Hayes calls it common; there are many examples from Cartagena and Valencia, and from Conimbriga, in the destruction levels and later levels. Hayes dates form 99A to 510-540; 99B to 530-580, and 99C to 560/580-620, and Carandini agrees. Fulford suggests slightly earlier dates of 475/500 to 575 for the series.

Form 99 A

1. REP 24.935. D. unknown. Fabric very micaceous. No slip remaining. Provenance: Alcolea del Río (Lora del Río 45).
2. REP 1993/28. D. rim est. 18 cm. Fabric fairly coarse, reddish. Slipped inside and out thin blotchy reddish orange. Provenance: Cerro El Casar (El Coronil).
3. Unregistered. D. unknown. Provenance: Romero 462,5/348,5 (Palma del Río 127).
4. Unregistered. D. rim est. 22 cm. Fabric fine, light orange. Slip entirely worn off. Provenance: Casa de Guarda 469,8/355,3 (Posadas 36).
5. RE 1988/177. D. unknown. Fabric fairly fine, light orange. Slipped inside and upper part of outside, thin matte red. Provenance: Cantillana (Lora del Río 13).

Form 99 B

1. RE 1992/206. D. unknown. Provenance: El Almuedano (Salteras) (Seville 101).
2. RE 1982/426. D. unknown. Fabric fine, deep orange. Slipped inside and over rim, thick glossy orange. Provenance: Gerena - Basilica (Alcala del Río 12).

3. RE 1988/327. D. rim est. 22 cm. Fabric medium coarse, brown and micaceous. Slipped inside only, dark red. Provenance: Manuel Nieto (La Campana 84).

4. RE 1992/24. D. rim est. 24 cm. Fabric coarse, orange. Slipped thin orange. Provenance: La Fabrica (Lora del Río 74).

5. Unregistered. D. unknown. Fabric medium coarse. Slipped inside and out, lustrous orange-red.

Provenance: Burguillos (E) (Alcala del Río 94).

6. RE 1988/43. D. rim est. 22 cm. Fabric medium, orange. Slipped inside and out, very thin, lustrous orange. Provenance: Huerfano (Carmona 3).

Form 99 C

1. Unregistered. D. unknown. Fabric medium coarse, orange, slightly micaceous. Very thin matte light orange slip over inside and upper part of outside. Provenance: Autoroute Geo-Cadix P-no 4. 304.8/397.2 (Dos Hermanas).

Ponsich illustrates four examples of 99B; there are no examples of 99A or C. He may sometimes have confused Hayes form 99 with Hayes form 61, but he does mention Lamboglia form 1 twice, and Hayes form 99 twice also. Sherds of this form have been dated to the Visigothic period.

Form 103

Hayes form 103 (Lamboglia form 60) is a large shallow plate with a straight, strongly sloping wall and a hooked or rolled hanging lip. Thick, granular ware, with smooth, semi-lustrous slip covering inside and rim. Exterior plain or self-slipped. Diameter 26-35.5 cm. There are two types:

- 1) Large hooked rim with triangular section. Steep wall.
- 2) Heavy, rolled rim. More flaring wall; low thick foot.

Form 103 A is very common all over the Mediterranean and on the Atlantic coast, but Hayes calls form 103 B quite rare. However, while

103A is represented by a single sherd at Cartagena, there are numerous examples of 103B. At Valencia, too, Reynolds illustrates a number of examples of each subtype. Hayes proposes a chronology from 500 to the third quarter of the sixth century; for type B production may reach as late as 600. Carandini and Fulford concur.

Form 103 A

1. RE 1988/533. D. unknown. Fabric fairly coarse, light orange. No slip, but the surface is smooth.

Provenance: Corchuela III (Dos Hermanas 22b).

Form 103 B

1. Unregistered. D. rim est. 24 cm. Fabric reddish-brown. Slipped inside and over rim, very thin reddish-brown. Provenance: Villar de Brenes (Alcala del Río 143).

Because this is not a Lamboglia form, Ponsich does not mention it, although he does show one illustration of each sub-type. Sites with this form have been dated to the Visigothic period.

Form 104

Hayes form 104 (no Lamboglia form) is a large dish or bowl, with a heavy knobbed rim. Ware as form 103, usually rather thick. Normally a groove on inside close to rim. Hayes identifies two types:

A) Rim vertical, rising well above floor, tending to come to a point at top and bottom. Diameter 29-50.5 cm. (mostly 32-45 cm).

B) Rim knobbed, with less upward projection. Ware mostly heavier and coarser. Diameter 26-35 cm.

Hayes calls both types very common, and they are present at Cartagena, Conimbriga, and Valencia. Hayes and Fulford date form 104A to 530-580 AD. Based on excavations at Carthage, Carandini suggests an earlier starting date for 104A, and indeed it appears in the destruction levels at Conimbriga (465-468). Tortorella found two fragments of 104A in contexts earlier than the Theodosian Wall (400-425). Hayes dates 104B to 570-600, with late variants going as late as 625+; here he is in agreement with Carandini, but disagrees

with Fulford, who sees no chronological distinction between 104A and 104B.

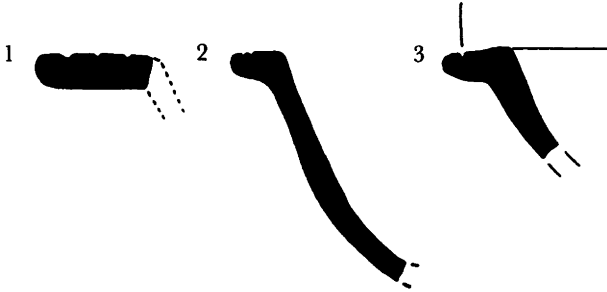
1. RE 1988/177. D. unknown. Fabric medium coarse, light orange-brown. Slipped inside and over rim, semi-glossy red. Provenance: Cantillana (Lora del Río 13).

2. RE 1989/46. D. rim est. 22 cm. Fabric coarse, dark orange. Slipped inside and over rim, thick glossy orange. Provenance: Quincena (Paso a nivel) (Lebrija 40).

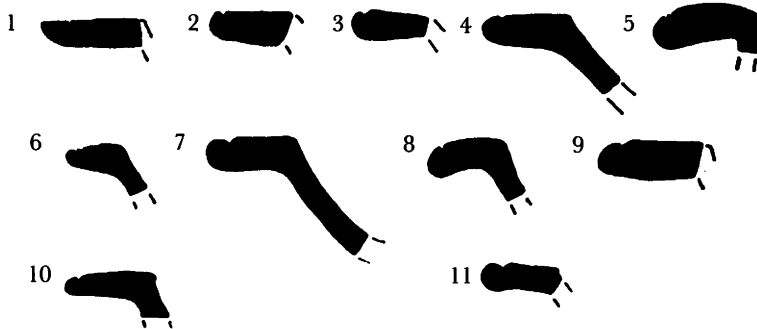
3. RE 1989/46. D. base est. 10 cm. Fabric medium coarse, dark pink-orange. Slipped inside only, fairly glossy red-orange. Stamped dove on floor to r., Hayes type E(ii), stamp type 207. Provenance: Quincena (Paso a nivel) (Lebrija 40).

Since there is no corresponding Lamboglia form, Ponsich does not mention this form, nor is it illustrated. These three examples have been counted as Visigothic.

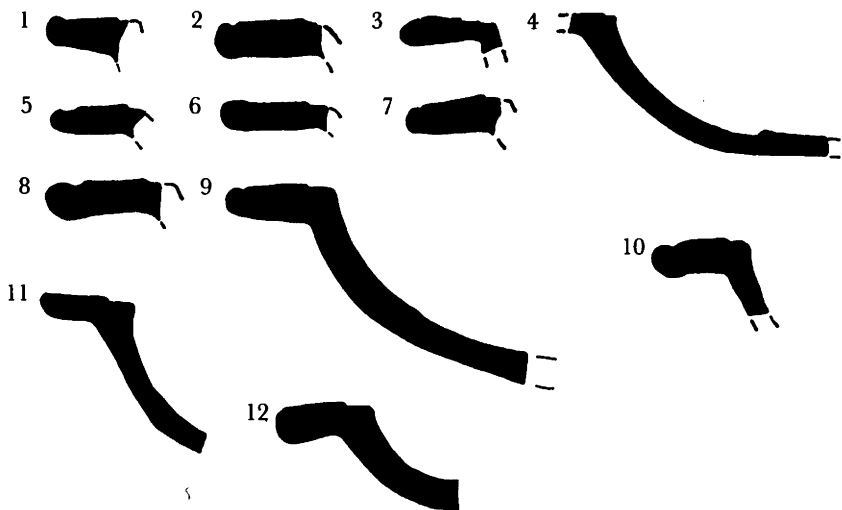
Form 58 A



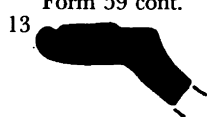
Form 58 B



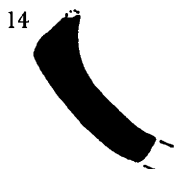
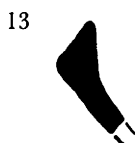
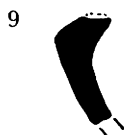
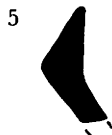
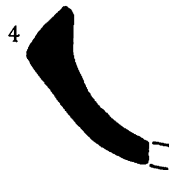
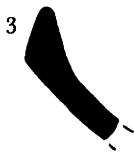
Form 59



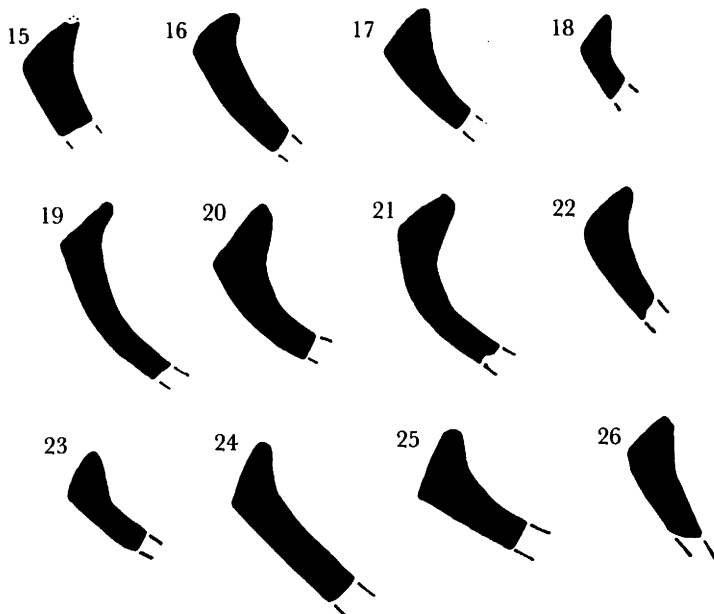
Form 59 cont.



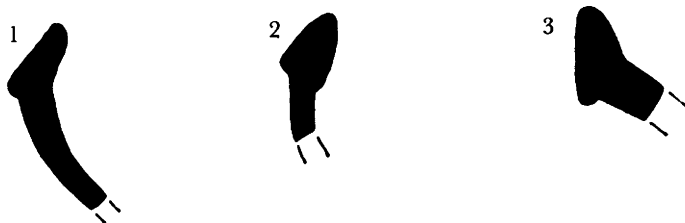
Form 61 A



Form 61 A cont.



Form 61 B



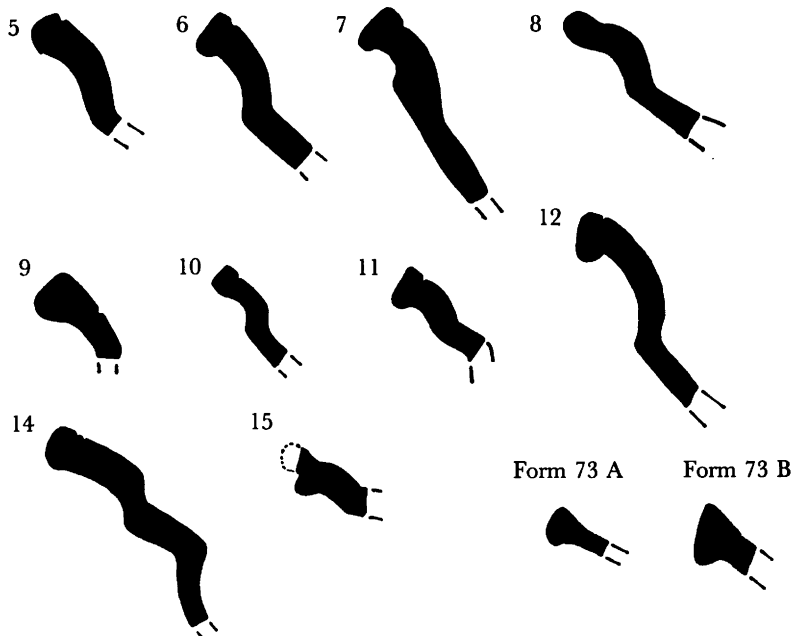
Form 58 B/ 59/ 61



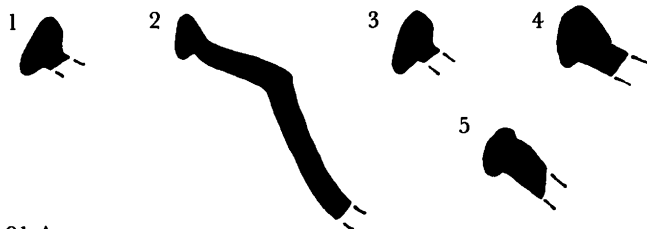
Form 67



Form 67 cont.



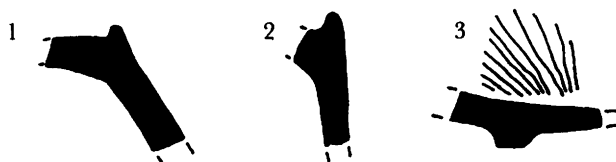
Form 76



Form 91 A



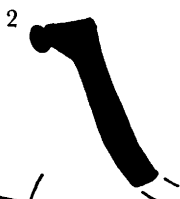
Form 91 B



Form 91 C



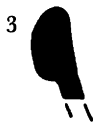
Form 93



Form 94



Form 99 A



Form 99 B



Form 99 C



Form 103 A



Form 103 B



Form 104



CHAPTER NINE

THE TRANSFORMATION AND PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION IN LATE ANTIQUE HISPANIA: SELECT ASPECTS FROM URBAN AND RURAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL DOCUMENTATION

Gisela Ripoll López

Introduction

The archaeology of late antique *Hispania* still follows a historiographic tradition that is firmly rooted.¹ The presence of an ethnic group, the Visigoths, has given place in both history and archaeology to a partial and fragmentary vision of what *Hispania* was from the fifth through eighth centuries. It is customary to find in the bibliography² a clear distinction between what are designated Paleochristian and Visigothic archaeology. The same phenomenon exists regarding the historical context as if there were some self evident dichotomy between the two cultures.³ In the last few years it has been demonstrated that such a dichotomy is untenable; rather a process of transformation, based upon continuity and innovation, definitely reveals a

¹ This text was written in March 1995. Gisela Ripoll López, "Historiografía y numismática visigodas entre los siglos XVI y XVIII: Ambrosio de Morales and Enrique Flórez," *Archéologie aujourd'hui: Les Mérovingiens, archéologie et historiographie*. 2. Paris, 1989, pp. 58-64. Lauro Olmo Enciso, "Ideología y Arqueología: estudios sobre el período visigodo en la primera mitad del siglo XX," in Javier Arce and Ricardo Olmos (edit.), *Historiografía de la Arqueología y de la Historia Antigua en España (siglos XVIII-XX)*. (Actas del Congreso Internacional, Madrid, Diciembre, 1988). Madrid, 1991, pp. 157-160.

² For a treatment of these problems consult the extensive bibliographical citations gathered by Alberto Ferreiro, *The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain, A.D. 418-711. A Bibliography*. Leiden, 1988. See also the useful work organized by eras and subject in: Robert Étienne and Françoise Mayet (edit.), *Histoire et Archéologie de la Péninsule Ibérique Antique. Chroniques Quinquennales. 1968-1987*. Paris, 1993.

³ Some exceptions exist within this form of work. We find, for example, the integration of archaeological evidence both from the "paleochristian" and "Visigothic" eras in Pere de Palol, "Arte y Arqueología," *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal*, vol. III.2, *España visigoda*. Madrid, 1991, pp. 271-428. Pedro de Palol and Gisela Ripoll, *Los godos en el occidente europeo. Ostrogodos y visigodo. Siglos IV-VIII*. Madrid, 1988. Also in, G. Ripoll and I. Velázquez, *La Hispania visigoda. Del rey Ataulfo a Don Rodrigo*, Madrid, 1995.

a gradual acculturation. This latter development is not detected only through diverse textual and archaeological sources of the Visigothic peoples, but also which the Romans produced.

From another point of view, but along the same criteria previously posited, some recent research analyzes documents from Late Antiquity in a complete and integrated manner, while at the same time disassociating itself from the alleged separation that existed between the rural and urban world.⁴ As an example, we can cite some buildings that are no longer studied separately as unique; instead they are considered within their proper context and setting so as to establish their possible origin, development, evolution, and relationship with their surroundings.⁵ If it is true that an architectural structure is able to yield much information and should be studied as such, it is likewise so in its integration within an urban and rural setting. In this manner we are able to understand the social structures which concern us here and in what ways Christianity and the Germanic peoples impacted, or transformed the social, cultural, and economic structures.

Within this series of preliminary observations it is fitting to also cite the neglect by scholars toward *Hispania*, in general by Northern European historians, as if it was not a part of the historical process in western Late Antiquity. On the other hand, archaeologists interested in funerary remains conduct themselves differently as they attempt to understand the behavior of Visigothic society through personal objects,⁶ including urban and territorial archaeology.⁷ Nevertheless, we

⁴ P.-A. Février, "Permanence et héritages de l'Antiquité dans la topographie des villes de l'Occident durant le Haut Moyen Âge," *Settimane di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* XXI. Spoleto. 1974, pp. 41-138. Josep Maria Gurt, Gisela Ripoll and Cristina Godoy, «Topografía de la Antigüedad tardía hispánica. Reflexiones para una propuesta de trabajo,» *Antiquité Tardive* 2 (1994) 161-180. In this article the essential diverse aspects for the study of topography are treated without entering into historiographical questions, but it does discuss the problems presented by the literary and archaeological documentation.

⁵ A notable case studied in the last few years as a result of recent excavations is the one at Mérida. See the brief guide with illustrations by, Luis Caballero and Pedro Mateos Cruz, *Santa Eulalia de Mérida. Excavación Arqueológica y Centro de Interpretación. Guías Arqueológicas*, 3. Mérida, 1993.

⁶ The most recent analysis is by Völker Bierbrauer, "Die Goten vom 1.-7. Jahrhundert n. Chr.: Siedelgebiete und Wanderbewegungen aufgrund archäologischer Quellen," *Peregrinatio Gothica*, III. Oslo. 1992, pp. 9-43. This study shows great interest in the hispanic funerary remains and attempts at finding solutions. A recent work is, "Archäologie und Geschichte der Goten vom 1.-7. Jahrhundert. Versuch einer Bilanz," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 28 (1994) 51-171.

⁷ P.-A. Février, "Archéologie et société: l'exemple hispanique," *III Reunión d'Arqueologia Paleocristiana Hispànica (Barcelona-Montserrat, 1978)*. Barcelona, 1982, pp. 87-104.

need to emphasize that in spite of the precise context of the *diocesis hispaniarum* and that it was the westernmost territory known in Antiquity; *Hispania* corresponds in similar ways to the rest of the regions along the Mediterranean regions that formed the Roman Empire. We do not mean to say that we can apply strict methodological models in our research to define a homogeneous unity; but we ought not to forget or ignore the diverse realities that reverberated in the eastern and western Empire in Late Antiquity.

Transformations and Innovations

During Late Antiquity two consecutive processes became evident which modified the social reality: they were specifically transformation and innovation. The transformations and innovations in *Hispania* that we observe are multiple and diverse throughout this period.

Firstly, many of the social and administrative structures of the Roman Empire were either deteriorating or lacking the vitality they possessed in previous eras. In any case, from an archaeological perspective, this development does not oblige us to maintain that the cities were in a state of decadence; on the contrary they were confronting a series of transformations of daily life rooted still in Roman traditions.⁸ In the same way that we refer to the evolutionary and transforming process of the cities, we ought to consider the *territorium*, which functioned with close connections to the *urbs* and its *suburbium*. This *territorium* was connected in a certain way to a prolongation of what was the center of the city. We also ought to single out the urban challenge and the transformations that it compelled upon the *civitas christiana*, in view there existed an interplay concerning the moral values of the city and the image that it wanted to project.⁹

A second phenomenon that is modifying radically our mental perceptions is the arrival of new peoples, namely the *barbari*. Understood

⁸ For a recent overview of Roman cities regarding their foundation, statutes, and organization in the Imperial era with some allusions to Late Antiquity see: Manuel Bendala (edit.) *La ciutat hispano-romana*. Barcelona. 1993 (Catálogo de la exposición organizada por el Ministerio de Cultura en ocasión del XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica, Tarragona, 1993).

⁹ Gisella Cantino Wathagin, "Urbs e civitas nella tarda antichità: linee di ricerca," in P. Demeglio y C. Lambert (edit.), *La «civitas christiana». Urbanistica delle città italiane fra tarda antichità e altomedioevo*, Mediterraneo Tardoantico e Medioevale. Quaderni, 1. Torino, 1992, pp. 7-42.

as foreigners or outsiders, who in spite of their progressive fusion into Roman culture, they moved rapidly toward economic, cultural, and social adaptations which had great implications. If it is evident that there existed a mutual process of acculturation between Visigoths and Romans; it is also true that there was a surge of economic and religious "confrontation" between both peoples and with the passage of time it unfolded within a context of innovations. Within this process, religion and the Church in terms of its outgrowths, will be the source of the strongest and most radical changes. It is precisely the presence of this new population group, the Visigoths, and their coexistence with the Romans that moves us to consider anew all of the problems concerning legislation. A revision of the *Codex euricianus* and the *Breviarium alaricianus* permits us to have a clearer understanding better adjusted to a reality in which both Roman and Visigoths lived. Alternately, we should always keep before us that from the moment when the Visigoths established themselves in the Peninsula they were the ones who had and displayed the governing powers. By means of an analysis of documentary and archaeological sources we are able to firmly establish exactly the political ideology and the exercise of power, especially during the sixth through eighth centuries.

We are, then, able to affirm that the impact of Christianity and the presence of new peoples are the principal driving forces of transformation, both as continuity and innovation; as we shall see, thanks in large part to archaeological remains from Late Antiquity.

The Urban Panorama

We alluded earlier to the problem that topographic studies present regarding the integration of the rural and urban elements without forgetting that they form a singular: *urbs-suburbium-territorium*.¹⁰ While in the city the presence of Christianity was modifying the urban areas, the function of specific public buildings and the creation of new ones and likewise the broader territory were being transformed.¹¹

¹⁰ See the extensive treatment of the attendant problems accompanied by a rich bibliography in Gurt, Ripoll y Godoy, "Topografía de la Antigüedad tardía hispánica," pp. 161-180.

¹¹ An exemplary study of this development is found in the study by Sonia Gutiérrez Lloret, "De la *ciuitas* a la *medina*: destrucción y formación de la ciudad en el sureste de Al-Andalus. El debate arqueológico," *IV Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española* (Alicante 1993). I. Alicante. 1993, pp 13-35.

Even to the present day, scholars defend a strict differentiation between what was the city *intra muros* and that designated as *extra muros*; nevertheless we believe that this dichotomy cannot be understood as such. The space of the living—the city itself—functioned in close relationship with the exterior, being that in it [the city] is included all of the *suburbium*, and even the space of the dead. These two areas both articulate, or better reorganize, the liturgical life of the city and as a consequence daily life, too. With the passage of time, the penetration of sepulchers in abandoned areas within the urban areas defined a change of mentality which became more evident in the Middle Ages, at which time the dead are buried at the center of urban areas within ecclesiastical structures.¹²

Within the already referred problems of urbanism we need to single out the cult of martyrs, given that it was a powerful driving force of transformation. The existence and material veneration of saints carried a series of manifestations, particularly literary, that are constructive.¹³ With respect to this last point, it is fitting to highlight the presence of relics and the bodily remains *ad sanctos*.¹⁴ The martirial sepulchers are situated in general in suburban areas generating a funerary space precisely of remains *ad sanctos* or *ad corpus martyris*, and consequently an activity related to the cult of martyrs. The progressive institutionalization of the *memoria*, *confessio* or *martyrium* is evidence of that activity which is an outgrowth of veneration of the cult of martyrs. The cohabitation of funerary space gave place to a certain hierarchical reorganization of sepulchers, particularly in respect to the martyrs, a development that permits us to observe certain determined social attitudes, as much among the laity

¹² An illustrative example of this phenomenon is the case of Rome, see Roberto Meneghini and Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, "Sepolture intramurane e paesaggio urbano a Roma tra V e VII secolo," in Lidia Paroli and Paolo Delogu (edit.), *La Storia economica di Roma nell'alto Medioevo alla luce dei recenti scavi archeologici*. Biblioteca di Archeologia Medievale. 10. Firenze, 1993, pp. 89-111. It is also attested to in certain cities of *Hispania*, even though this change has not been the object still of serious scholarship.

¹³ For a treatment of hispanic martirial archaeology see, Cristina Godoy Fernández, *Funcionalidad de la arquitectura cristiana hispánica, siglos IV al VIII. Arqueología y liturgia. Iglesias hispánicas (siglos IV al VIII)*. Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona, 1995 (*pro-manuscripto*). And, for a foundational study, Id "Poder i prestigi episcopal en relació amb el culte de les relíquies dels màrtirs," *Homenatge a Miquel Tarradell*. Estudis Universitaris Catalans. Barcelona, 1993, pp. 889-899.

¹⁴ Yvette Duval, *Auprès des saints, corps et âme. L'inhumation "ad sanctos" dans la chrétienté d'Orient et d'Occident du IIIe au VIIIe siècle*. Etudes Augustiniennes. Paris, 1988. See also, Peter Brown, *The cult of the Saints*. 1981.

and religious and of the privileged.¹⁵ The analysis of the presence of a martyr's tomb, including its assimilation with the consecration of an altar, is a determining factor of urban topography. As we shall see later in the examples of cities such as *Valentia* (Valencia) and *Tarraco* (Tarragona) etc.

In the midst of these problems, the textual information that we possess concerning cities of this era is very brief and it yields scanty evidence on any urban networks.¹⁶ It is necessary, then, to turn to archaeological sources, keeping in mind that excavations in historical centers with a continuing urbanism are always difficult to carry out, and above all to interpret accurately. In our ensuing discussion we will single out some examples of cities and urban centers of peninsular geography (without going from city to city), that are the object of recent archaeological works and which are modifying in certain respects some historiographic presuppositions. The last excavations were limited particularly to the crumbling and decadence of the cities, and they are presently being documented in most cases within important stratified levels from the fourth through eighth centuries and their corresponding transformation in the face of the Islamic presence.

Traditionally it has always been believed that during Late Antiquity cities had reduced their perimeters due to problems of instability, or in some cases some scholars spoke of abandonment. Nevertheless, these previous interpretations continue to be modified continually thanks to recent archaeological excavations that are being carried out in different cities.¹⁷ Studies of mural enclosures help to comprehend life in the interior of the city, since they illustrate the abandonment of

¹⁵ The problems that the privileged sepulchers present were the object of study in the important colloquium that was organized by Yvette Duval and Jean-Charles Picard (edit.), *L'inhumation privilégiée du IV^e au VIII^e siècle en Occident*. Actes du Colloque de Créteil. Paris, 1986.

¹⁶ Arce, *El último siglo de la España romana: 284-409*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1982, pp. 85-110.

¹⁷ General elements of this problem have been addressed by Gisella Cantino Wataghin, "Urbanistica tardoantica e topografia cristiana. Termini di un problema," *Felix Temporis Reparatio. Atti del Convegno Archeologico Internazionale Milano capitale dell'Impero romano (Milano 1990)*. Milano, 1992, pp. 171-192. Recently, an analysis of the diverse problems concerning hispanic cities has been gathered in the form of a catalog: Carmen Fernández Ochoa and Ángel Morillo Cerdán, "Fortificaciones urbanas de época bajo-imperial en Hispania. Una aproximación a su crítica," *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid* 18 (1991) 227-259 and 19 (1992) 319-360.

buildings, sepulchral sectors, the reutilization of diverse architectural materials, remodeling, restorations and even re-use of epigraphic remains.

One of the hispanic archaeological novelties is found at El Tolmo de Minateda (Hellín, Albacete) (fig. 1), where recently an extensive semi-urban nucleus has been documented. This structure is walled and appears to have undergone important renovation in the sixth and seventh centuries. There is present a great deal of sculptural and epigraphic material from the Imperial era that had been reutilized in the walled remains.¹⁸ This type of phenomenon became very common in Late Antiquity; a time in which there is a tendency to renovate walled structures or even to reconstruct them (fig. 2).

Concerning cities like *Barcino* (Barcelona), archaeological research is reflecting the importance of the city in Late Antiquity, on the grounds that reconstructions are abundant within the urban network (fig. 3). Recent discoveries of a domestic architecture from the middle of the fourth century, accompanied by a pavement decoration (polychrome mosaics and an *opus sectile*) and a mural painting (with a horse and a personage) which endured even throughout the sixth century, demonstrates that these structures spread beyond the normal roads of circulation.¹⁹ In addition to others we are able to see the apogee of the city in this era. Frequently, as the various examples of hispanic cities demonstrate, during this period zones that were densely populated were liquidated and over them were constructed a single *domus*, as is the case of the aforementioned Barcelona (fig. 4). Another well-known example in this same city is the habitation containing the circus mosaic that is dated at the beginning of the fourth century and which confirms an endurance of traditions and tastes.²⁰ In what per-

¹⁸ Lorenzo Abad Casal, Sonia Gutiérrez Lloret and Rubí Sanz Gamo, "El Tolmo de Minateda (Hellín, Albacete) a la luz de las últimas excavaciones (1988-1992)," *El Acequión (Albacete) y El Tolmo de Minateda (Hellín). Síntesis de las excavaciones*. Museo de Albacete, Albacete, 1993, pp. 29-51. Id., "El proyecto de investigación arqueológica 'Tolmo de Minateda' (Hellín, Albacete): nuevas perspectivas en el panorama arqueológico peninsular," *Jornadas de Arqueología Albacetense en la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*. Madrid, 1993, pp. 141-176.

¹⁹ The excavation of this urban *domus*, located near the wall in the zone of the street Bisbe Caçador, was completed in October 1994. It is for this reason that it has yet to be published. I wish to thank Oriol Granados for bringing this matter to my attention.

²⁰ This mosaic has been the object of a new study that brings together the controversies and previous bibliography. See, Marta Darder Lissón, "El mosaic circenc de *Barcino*. Implicacions iconogràfiques a partir de las aportacions semàntiques," *Bulleti de la Reial Acadèmia de Belles Arts de Sant Jordi* (Barcelona) VII-VIII (1993-1994) 251-281.

tains to the study of the walls, even though the data is still not trustworthy, it seems that there existed some transformation in the entire fifth century and it reflects the image of the *ciuitas christiana*.²¹

The impact of Christianity in *Tarraco* (Tarragona) it is known had as great transcendental impact mainly because of the presence of martyrs (Fructuosus, Augurius and Eulogius) and the Metropolitan Episcopal See.²² It is also well known that the expansion of the habitat of the city towards the highest terrace took place (administrative center, forum, and a circus) and the presence of abundant funerary areas is confirmed.²³ It is also true that we can now observe important transformations in the precincts and provincial buildings and in new spaces we can detect an episcopal palace (*episcopium*) next to the enclosure of the Imperial cult constructed in the era of the Flavians (fig. 5).²⁴ In fact, the reexcavation of the church in the arena of the amphitheater which was constructed in the sixth century is an added example of these renovations (fig. 6).²⁵ It is fitting to single out the very recent excavation of a church containing funerary characteristics and dating from Late Antiquity in the zone of the Christian necropolis known as "San Fructuoso" or "La Tabacalera."²⁶ This discovery without a doubt will modify our understanding of the martirial funerary areas of *Tarraco*.²⁷ The architectural groups where

²¹ Oriol Granados and Isabel Rodà, "Barcelona en la baixa romanitat," *Congrés d'Història de Barcelona. La ciutat i el seu territori, dos mil anys d'història. Història Antiga*. Barcelona, 1993, pp. 25-46. See also the treatment of the baptismal zone in relation to the wall in, Pere de Palol, "Transformaciones urbanas en Hispania durante el Bajo Imperio. Los ejemplos de Barcino, Tarraco y Clunia. Trascendencia del modelo en época visigoda: Toledo," *Felix Temporis Reparatio, Atti del Convegno Milano capitale dell'Impero Romano*. Milano, 1992, pp. 382-392.

²² The first comprehensive studies of this city are those by, Pedro de Palol, *Tarraco hispano-visigoda*. Tarragona, 1953. See also for topographical questions: C. Godoy Fernandez and M. Dels S. Gros i Pujol, "L'oracional hispànic de Verona i la topografia cristiana de *Tarraco* a l'antiguitat tardana: possibilitats i límits," *Pyrenae* 25 (1994) 245-258.

²³ New excavations have been realized that have enlightened our knowledge about the suburban funerary areas. See, Ted'a, *Els enterraments del Parc de la Ciutat i la problemàtica funerària de Tarraco*. Memòries d'Excavació, 1, Tarragona, 1987.

²⁴ Xavier Aquilué, *La seu del Col·legi d'Arquitectes. Una intervenció arqueològica en el centre històric de Tarragona*. Tarragona, 1993.

²⁵ Ted'a, *L'amfiteatre romà de Tarragona, la basilica visigòtica i l'església romànica*. Memòries d'Excavació, 3. Tarragona. 1990.

²⁶ The excavations were carried out in the summer of 1994 and 1995, and results have not been published. A few notices have appeared in the popular press, however.

²⁷ See note 23 above.

the transformations are much evident are found in the territory near *Tarraco*; we are referring to Centcelles which we will treat shortly.

The phases of development of the city of *Valentia* (Valencia) in Late Antiquity, are now known thanks to the excavations carried out in the zone of La Almoina, where a church and a large cemetery have appeared (fig. 7).²⁸ In the necropolis it has been possible to detect the phases of occupation. The first is dated from the fifth until the middle of the sixth centuries; the second corresponds to the second half of the sixth and into the seventh centuries. The church that was excavated is related to the second stage of development. It is needful to point out that the levels of stratification corresponding to this period are certainly important and they denote a series of urbanistic modifications of the city since the necropolis and the church are found in what was the enclosure of the forum.

The same occurs in the city of *Complutum* (Alcalá de Henares, Madrid), whose significance was suspected and for which there was no archaeological evidence.²⁹ The great number of excavations that have been realized, as well as revision of old material remains, permits us today to have a more accurate vision of what was the urban network of *Complutum*. This knowledge is not limited to the city proper; rather it belongs essentially to the *suburbium* and its *territorium*. The proliferation, remodeling, and reutilization of the *uillae*, as is the case of El Val and especially the multiple and diverse cemeteries, are part of an urban area that is characteristic of Late Antiquity. The city habitat zone spread toward the eastern side of the ancient *Complutum*—called the *Campo Laudabile*—unfolding very likely around a center for the cult of martyrs referred to as Justus and Pastor, which although known from the literary tradition is as yet not confirmed by archaeology.

²⁸ Albert Riera i Lacomba and Rafaela Soriano Sánchez, "Enterramientos de la antigüedad tardía en Valentia," *Lucentum* 6 (1987) 139-163. Vicent Escrivà Torres and Rafaela Soriano Sánchez, "El área cementerial asociada a la basilica de la Almoina," *III Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española, Oviedo 1989*, Oviedo, 1992, pp. 103-109. Id., "El área episcopal de Valentia," *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 63 (1990) 347-354.

²⁹ The numerous excavations have appeared in many publications. Notably those by, Antonio Méndez Madariaga and Sebastián Rascón Marqués, *Los visigodos en Alcalá de Henares*. Cuadernos del Juncal, 1, Tear, Alcalá de Henares, 1989. Consult on this problem Gisela Ripoll, "Acerca de 'Los visigodos en Alcalá de Henares,'" *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* I,2 (1989) 453-471. See also, A. Méndez Madariaga and S. Rascón Marqués, "Complutum y el bajo Henares en época visigoda," *III Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española. Oviedo 1989*; Oviedo, 1992, vol. II, pp. 96-103.

Another city that deserves to be mentioned in the context of urban networks is *Corduba* (Córdoba). What we used to know about this city in Late Antiquity gave an image of an urban center with very little economic power. Excavations that have been completed in the periphery of the city—in Cercadilla—have brought the discovery of an extraordinary architectural group of buildings. It is possible that they pertain to a large *uilla* of exceptional size constructed at the end of the third century or beginning of the fourth, but definitely still in use in all of the fifth.³⁰ The existence of these structures throughout this period and in cities of the *Baetica* demonstrates the flowering of decidedly urban centers (fig. 8).

All of the cities that we have considered up to now, while demonstrating advances in the walled areas and urban networks and the like, the most representative of all is the capital of the province *Augusta Emerita* (Mérida, Badajoz). The city already had an organizational urban setting dating from the Imperial era³¹ and at the same time we have a literary vision of the city thanks to the *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium*.³² Nevertheless, excavating the ground floor of the church of Santa Eulalia has permitted us to deepen our understanding of Mérida.³³ Mérida furnishes abundant documentation that yields a precise image of the *ciuitas christiana*, or what was also called the *ciuitas dei*. It is precisely the place of the sepulcher of the martyr Eulalia which generated an important cemetery complex and the building of a church that experienced various reconstructions.³⁴ All of the northern zone of the city was remodeled as indicated by the appearance in this sector of the prominent building of Santa Catalina not far from Santa Eulalia, and which has been identified as the *xenodochium* cited in the literary sources. This structure, mainly on

³⁰ The entire site has not yet been published. For preliminary findings see, Rafael Hidalgo Prieto and Pedro Marfil Ruiz, "El yacimiento arqueológico de Cercadilla: avance de resultados," *Anales de Arqueología Cordobesa* 3 (1992) 277-308. It is entirely possible to detect the late phases of the occupation.

³¹ J.M.^a Álvarez Martínez, "Ciutats romanes d'Extremadura," in Bendala, *La ciutat hispano-romana*, pp. 128-159.

³² The most recent edition is by, A. Maya Sánchez, *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium*. CSSL, CXVI; Brepols, Turholt, 1992.

³³ Pedro Mateos Cruz, "El culto a Santa Eulalia y su influencia en el urbanismo emeritense (Siglos IV-VI)," *Extremadura Arqueológica* 3 (1992) 57-79.

³⁴ Luis Caballero Zoreda and Pedro Mateos Cruz, "Excavaciones en Santa Eulalia de Mérida," *Extremadura Arqueológica* 2 (1991) 525-546. Id., "Trabajos arqueológicos en la iglesia de Santa Eulalia de Mérida," *Extremadura Arqueológica* 3 (1992) 15-50.

account of probable Byzantine influences from Mazona, fulfilled the functions of hospital and resting place for pilgrims. Although archaeological confirmation is difficult, it is possible that some of the pillars reutilized in the Arab well of the Alcazaba originate from this structure. These important renovations not only affected the northern zone of the city, but also the zone facing the river *Anas* (present day Guadiana), since we can observe manifest changes in domestic structures situated in the walled interior of the recently excavated sectors of Morerías (fig. 9).

The city of Recópolis deserves to be reemphasized since it is the only one example that we know of for the sixth century that was constructed *a fundamentis*. The city cited by John of Biclar, was clearly an exercise of power by the Arian Leovigild, who had it constructed in honor of his son Reccared in 578, as was also the *Victoriacum* foundation. The text reads: *Liuvigildus rex extinctis undique tyrannis, et persuasoribus Hispaniae superatis sortitus requiem propriam cum plebe resedit ciuitatem in Celtiberia ex nomine filii condidit, quae Recopolis nuncupatur: quam miro opere et in moenibus et suburbanis adornans priuilegia populo nouae urbis instituit*. This city has been identified with the urban structures found in the upper Cerro de la Oliva, next to Zorita de los Canes (Guadalajara) (fig. 10).³⁵ Although epigraphic remains do not exist that affirm that we are at Recópolis, there is also no evidence to the contrary. The hoard of coins, dating precisely to this era, on account of the emissions that it contains coupled with the important structures and stratified levels offer us the image of a newly established city.³⁶ Its walled surroundings supply a necessary documentation to ascertain the systems of construction of fortified cities in Late Antiquity.³⁷ On the other hand, future excavations of Recópolis will likely provide important sources of information regarding the civil and domestic architecture of this period.

³⁵ These excavations began in the early 1940s and continue to this day. K. Raddatz, "Studien zu Reccopolis, 1," *Madridrer Mitteilungen* 5 (1964) 213-233. D. Claude, "Studien zu Reccopolis, 2," *Madridrer Mitteilungen* 6 (1965) 167-194. Luis Vázquez de Parga, "Studien zu Recopolis, 3," *Madridrer Mitteilungen* 8 (1967) 259-280. Lauro Olmo Enciso, "La ciudad visigoda de Recópolis," *I Congreso de Historia de Castilla-La Mancha*. Vol. IV, *Romanos y Visigodos: hegemonía cultural y cambios sociales*. Talavera, 1988, pp. 305-312.

³⁶ J. Cabré, *El tesorillo de tridentes de las excavaciones del Plan Nacional de 1944-1945 de Zorita de los Canes (Guadalajara)*, Informes y Memorias, 10. 1946.

³⁷ Lauro Olmo Enciso, "Restos defensivos de la ciudad visigoda de Recópolis," *Homenaje al Prof. Martín Almagro Basch*. Vol. IV; Madrid, 1983, pp. 67-74.

The series of examples given above are but a small demonstration of how the methods of study and recent excavations permit us to know the evolution of urban networks in Late Antiquity. The panorama is being modified primarily toward a better comprehension of what were the determined several trends. Therefore, it is fitting to emphasize that the urban habitat was modified, given that certain areas are abandoned or partially dismantled and others are transformed in terms of their functions. The detection of sepulchers in certain urban areas are conducive in allowing us to precisely observe these transformations. The habitat was limited to specific areas while some sectors were done away with altogether. The public imperial buildings lost principally their original function for which they were conceived and were reoccupied or somewhat in part remodelled. Domestic structures likewise experience important changes: some are expanded or decorated according to the tastes of the day, while still respecting clearly a Roman tradition. Suburban areas acquired major relevance owing to the presence of funerary areas and the remains of martyrs with their accompanying cult of relics and attraction of pilgrims.

The Rural World

The transformations we have offered at this juncture, related essentially to Christianity and the presence of the Visigoths, also affected the rural areas. If then we know so little about the endurance of Roman property divisions in Late Antiquity it was also a time in which the countryside was organized by a series of events that for the moment we know so little about. The best known phenomenon concerns the development of agricultural and livestock that were in the hands of prominent landowners. These operations were important in this era and they generated a series of deep transformations in the architecture of the *uillae*. Moreover, they extended with an uneven density in the entire geography of the peninsula, and depended on the depth of romanization and the possibilities of exploitation of the zones. That is why, for example, in the castillian *Meseta* which corresponds largely to the *Carthaginensis*, we find ourselves before landowners who had large tracts of fertile lands. By contrast, in zones as *Lusitania*, the extension of farmlands are less fertile although there are many. We need to bear in mind that this agricultural and cattle

exploitation was not only in the hands of these *possesores*, it also resided among a closeknit population of a different ethnic/cultural background such as the *uici*, *castella* and *pagi* (fig. 11).³⁸

It is precisely in the aforementioned *Lusitania* where we have documented in the last several years a significant number of *uillae*. They reveal important clusters such as the one at El Rabaçal (Penela, Coimbra).³⁹ The residential areas of this *uillae* present a series of rooms revolving around an octagonal peristyle colonnade accompanied with (mosaic) pavements, which personally, I believe, were dedicated to the development of horsebreeding. This is hardly surprising since some of the iconographic representations (the four seasons and a victorious race chariots) make reference to this theme and the zone that is set within the architectural grouping that served such purposes (fig. 12).⁴⁰ Another large group recently published is the one at São Cucufate in Portugal. The conservation of these monuments has permitted scholars to detect the various phases of construction with significant restorations at the beginning of the fourth century.⁴¹ The organization of the Luistanian territory—more specifically that of the *territorium* emeritense—becomes more visible on account of new archaeological documentation stemming from the excavations of the *uillae* at El Pomar, El Pesquero, Olivar de Centeno, Monroy, Torre Abarragena, and others.⁴²

Now passing to other regions the first place and a better example of the transformations that occurred in Late Antiquity is the well known *uilla* at Centcelles (Constantí, Tarragona) (fig. 13, 14, 15).

³⁸ Consult the variety of perspectives on this problem in, Arce, *El último siglo de la España romana*, pp. 85-110. Also, Luís A. García Moreno, "La economía y la vida rurales. La ciudad y la vida urbana," *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal*, III.1, *España visigoda*. Madrid, 1991, pp. 283-404.

³⁹ A first approximation of this area but still awaiting publication of the main excavation and the mosaics is in, Miguel Pessoa, "Villa romaine de Rabaçal, Penela (Coimbra-Portugal): Realités et perspectives," *Conimbriga* 30 (1991) 109-119.

⁴⁰ Even though no mention is made of Rabaçal, a treatment of the problems concerning the theme of the horses is present. See the co-authored study by, Marta Darder and Gisela Ripoll, "Caballos en la antigüedad tardía hispánica," *Revista de Arqueología* 104 (1989) 40-51. For a specific study of the beds, known as wheels, and their contextualization see the forthcoming study by Gisela Ripoll, and Marta Darder, "*Frena equorum*. Guarniciones de frenos de caballo en la antigüedad tardía hispánica," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* 1,6 (1994) 227-356.

⁴¹ J.L. Alarção, R. Étienne and F. Mayet, *Les villas romaines de São Cucufate (Portugal)*. Paris, 1990.

⁴² Jean Gerard Gorges and Manuel Salinas de Frias (edit.), *El medio rural en Lusitania romana. Formas de hábitat y ocupación del suelo*, Actas de la Mesa Redonda Internacional. *Studia Historica. Historia Antigua X-XI* (1992-1993).

This so-called *uilla* is situated in the *territorium* of *Tarraco* and it presents an occupation—little known on account of scanty excavations—datable to the beginning of the second century B.C and was modified in the middle or end of the third century A.D. It is at that moment when a series of structures were established which altered the physical appearance of the *uilla*. The construction of two large circular rooms were initiated, and one was decorated with paintings and walled mosaics in its dome. The iconography moved Helmut Schlunk⁴³ and his collaborators to consider this monument the funerary mausoleum of Constantius that was constructed by orders of Magnentius.⁴⁴ This theory accepted by many researchers has been questioned by Javier Arce who believes that the iconography of the dome and the historical context of its construction is proof enough to reject the German theory. He believes, rather, that we are before a series of investiture scenes within an ecclesiastical-Christian ambience and they pertain to an episcopal mausoleum of the second half of the fourth century.⁴⁵ While it is true that a revisionist view of the iconography is suggestive; as long as further excavations are not carried out on the rest of the constructions and rooms of the *uilla* from the later period, accompanied by a new reading of the walled structures, the problem is not going to be resolved adequately nor its contextualization within the territory of *Tarraco*.

Another important site not customarily referred to is that of Pla de Nadal (Ribarroja, Valencia).⁴⁶ The documented structures demonstrate a rural construction and whose ground plan corresponds to the *uillae* with galleries and angular towers that are open over a peristyle colonnade (fig. 16). The construction corresponds in large part to a residential area and other fragmentary remains allow to detect a *pars rustica*. In spite of this clear Roman construction—the decorative architecture—the parallels with other sculptural remains situates the construction of this building towards the end of the sixth century with

⁴³ Helmut Schlunk, *Die Mosaikkuppel von Centcelles*, *Madridrer Beiträge* 13, 2 vols. Mainz 1988.

⁴⁴ Theodor Hauschild and Achim Arbeiter, *La vil·la romana de Centcelles*. Barcelona, 1993.

⁴⁵ Dr. J. Arce has presented a series of conferences on this subject, but has not put them in writing. Some ideas on Constantius and Magnentius were presented in the book, J. Arce, *Funus Imperatorum: Los funerales de los emperadores romanos*. Madrid: Alianza Editoria 1988.

⁴⁶ Empar Juan Navarro and Ignacio Pastor Cubillo, "El yacimiento de época visigoda de Pla de Nadal," *Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina* 19 (1989) 357-373.

some continuing usage throughout most of the seventh century. The Pla de Nadal site opens up a new line of investigation regarding rural constructions with new foundations paralleling the transformation or alterations of *uillae* that had been raised in earlier time.

The documentation we possess at the moment on the habitats of rural or semi-urban character is at best scanty. The best known example and not the only one is still that of El Bovalar (Serós, Lérida) set at a high elevation dominating the valley of Segre (fig. 17).⁴⁷ Archaeological excavations have documented a church and a habitat clustered together in an extension of about 2400 square meters and dedicated fundamentally for the exploitation of agriculture and cattle. The establishment of the inhabited place is very likely later than the construction of the church (fig. 18). The spatial organization corresponds to family units where it has been possible to confirm a daily life dedicated to activities we have already mentioned seeing that vessels and holders have been found. The important five levels and coins in circulation by the Visigothic King Akhila permits to situate chronologically the abandonment of the inhabited area around the second decade of the eighth century.

The examples presented, even though not representative of the entire geography of the Iberian Peninsula nor of all the attendant problems, demonstrate that we possess a somewhat uneven documentation. That is to say, each of our sites taken as examples present a series of distinct challenges of great interest. They highly suggest avenues of research that may be able to help us resolve the numerous questions regarding the development of the rural world in Late Antiquity.

Funerary Archaeological Evidence

The study of the necropolae dispersed in the Iberian Peninsula yields knowledge about the different types of habitats that developed. It is also well known that funerary remains reflect an organized hierarchical community with its own means of production.⁴⁸ Likewise, let us

⁴⁷ The excavations by Professor Palol have appeared in a brief publication richly illustrated and we await the publication of the complete site. For now see, Pere de Palol, *El Bolavar (Serós, Segrià). Conjunt d'època paleocristiana i visigòtica*. Barcelona-Lérida, 1989.

⁴⁸ Gisela Ripoll, *La ocupación visigoda a través de sus necrópolis (Hispania)*. Col·lecció de Tesis Microfityxades, No. 912, Servei de Publicacions de la Universitat de Barcelona. Barcelona, 1991.

keep in mind that factors of population, topography and culture present are essential historical elements. For example, it is fitting to highlight the important differences which existed between urban funerary topography and that which unfolded in the rural context.

In the case of the cemetery groups which characterize the Castilian Meseta they correspond as a general rule to a rural habitat of reduced size dedicated fundamentally to the development of agriculture and cattle.⁴⁹ The necropolis, as in the case of El Carpio de Tajo (Toledo)⁵⁰ and of Caceras de las Ranas (Aranjuez),⁵¹ which at the moment are still considered strictly speaking Visigothic, represent a mixed population, the result perhaps of relations of dependency in that era. When a new population group installed itself in a pre-existing Roman *uicus* they maintained within it those already there and it is logical to assume that this coexistence perpetuated itself in the funerary space.

The example of El Carpio de Tajo is very clear in this respect and we will analyze it more carefully.⁵² The most recent preparation of the floorplan depicting the sepulchral distribution in this necropolis yields a topochronological scheme that will bring to finality a systematic analysis so as to establish a relative chronology (fig. 19). The 285 sepulchers are distributed longitudinally on the bluff of a hill over a flat surface measuring approximately 4.433 square meters. The orientation of the tombs East-West is normal within the chronological framework in which we find ourselves and in the enclosure of the population that had submitted to the influence of a Christianized Roman world. The spatial organization is directed along longitudinal

⁴⁹ Gisela Ripoll López, "Características generales del poblamiento y la arqueología funeraria visigoda de Hispania," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* I, 2 (1989) 389-418.

⁵⁰ Gisela Ripoll, *La necrópolis visigoda de El Carpio de Tajo (Toledo)*. Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España, 142. Madrid, 1985. The discovery of the distribution plan of the necropolis has made it possible to finish a new study that updates the one carried out in 1985. See, Id., "La necrópolis visigoda de El Carpio de Tajo. Una nueva lectura a partir de la topocronología y los adornos personales," *Boletín de la Real Academia Catalana de Belles Arts de Sant Jordi* (Barcelona) VII-VIII (1993-1994) 187-250.

⁵¹ The necropolis contains characteristics similar to those found in El Carpio de Tajo, Duratón, Castiltierra, and others. Although the results have not been published it seems that its chronology is found at the end of the fifth up to the end of the sixth centuries and even perhaps the beginning of the seventh. For now consult, F. Ardanaz, "Excavaciones de la necrópolis visigoda de Caceras de las Ranas (Aranjuez, Madrid)," *Arqueología, Paleontología y Etnografía* 2 (1991) 257-266.

⁵² For a complete study see, Ripoll López, "La necrópolis visigoda de El Carpio de Tajo. Una nueva lectura," (see note 50 above).

lines forming more or less regular groups leaving, on some occasions, great spaces that respond to a better circulation within the funerary enclosure, or even perhaps meeting places, though this latter possibility is more difficult to rule out.

That which refers to material remains we count only with a total of ninety sepulchers containing within their interior items pertaining to personal dress. Its distribution on the plain, although only partial has led to the establishment of the chronological evolution of the cemetery occupying a broad area from the end of the fifth to the closure of the sixth centuries. The sepulchers with Visigothic materials and those containing Roman objects continued occupying the same funerary zones without any distinction of places or sectors. The first foundational tombs that precisely offer up Visigothic materials are situated in the most dense zone of the necropolis (center to North). This first phase of the occupation corresponds to the end of the fifth century. Surrounding and next to this first group of sepulchers there appear other tombs which densify and expand the funerary space essentially in the entire southern sector. This period of occupation seems to correspond to the sixth century and overall to the middle of that same century. It is that area which generates the remaining implantation of the cemetery and occupies the free spaces respecting the distances and roads of circulation. The latest phase in the second half of the sixth century reveals the insertion of tombs next to preexisting ones, thus densifying the central sector and the southern area while inaugurating the entire northern zone where there had not been a previous sepulchral presence.

The detailed study of the site and the dressing remains at El Carpio de Tajo allow us to observe that the necropolis was directed and organized by a clear plan based upon social and familial criteria and not by privileged sepulchers or by factors of riches and poverty. We believe that we are observing social and familial groups that guide us into all of the problems that funerary property presents us with in this epoch and the responses that archaeology is able to offer up.⁵³ It is true that tribal parentage had a substantive specific influence in a society directed by Germanic law, but it is also true that with the passage of time it had weakened and slowly was substituted

⁵³ Some of the problems have been treated by Bailey K. Young and Patrick Perin, "Les nécropoles (IIIe-VIIIe siècle)," in N. Duval (edit.), *Arts chrétiens, Atlas des monuments paléochrétiens de la France*. Paris, 1991, pp. 94-121.

by the family of the conugal and monocellular type.⁵⁴ This fact permits us to suppose that the funerary space was the result of family control and not of social or kindred groups (fig. 20).

The example of El Carpio de Tajo demonstrates an avenue of interpretation initiated by the necropolis at Duratón.⁵⁵ It is possible that a detailed analysis of this necropolis, as well as the one located in Cacara de las Ranas, will advance our understanding of the cemeteries of mixed population—Visigoths and Romans—and not exclusive of the traditional hierarchical and social Visigothic structures as had been customarily seen until now. The precise definition of personal objects of adornment pertaining to either of the population groups are still the object of study and thanks to large collections our knowledge of them increases gradually.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, the majority of these items are found in commercial antique circles, thus they are outside of an archaeological context. Nevertheless, a complete study of these pieces still yields a better understanding of the different historical realities in peninsular geography and the manner in which the process of aculturation unfolded.⁵⁷

A development that stands out in the process of aculturation of the

⁵⁴ The bibliography in this respect is superficial, but for now refer to, P. D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom*. Cambridge University Press, 1972. Also in: Ph. Ariès and G. Duby, *Histoire de la vie privée. I, L'Empire romain et l'antiquité tardive. II, Le Haut Moyen-Age*. Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1985.

⁵⁵ Völker Bierbrauer, "Frühgeschichtliche Akkulturationsprozesse in den Germanischen Staaten am Mittelmeer (Westgoten, Ostgoten, Langobarden) aus der Sicht des Archäologen," *Atti del 6° Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo, Milano, 1978*. Spoleto, 1980, pp. 89-105, figs. 2-4. Id., "Die Goten vom 1.-7. Jahrhundert n. Chr.," pp. 28-34. Id., "Zur chronologischen, soziologischen und regionalen Gliederung ostgermanisches Fundstoffes des 5. Jahrhunderts in Südosteuropa," in Herwig Wolfram and Falko Daim (edit.), *Die Völker an der mittleren und unteren Donau im fünften und sechsten Jahrhundert*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften. 145. Vienna, 1980, pp. 131-142, 20 figs.

⁵⁶ Visigothic objects and those of the sixth and seventh centuries with a Mediterranean orientation have been the focus of a lengthy study by, Ripoll, *La ocupación visigoda a través de sus necrópolis (Hispania)*. See note 48 above. A brief study with the necessary critical apparatus and illustrations is in, Gisela Ripoll López, "Materiales funerarios de la Hispania visigoda: problemas de cronología y tipología," *Actes des VIIe Journées Internationales d'Archéologie Mérovingienne, Gallo-Romains, Wisigoths et Francs en Aquitaine, Septimanie et Espagne. Toulouse, 1986*. Rouen, 1991, pp. 111-132, 13 figs.

⁵⁷ A precise example of these problems as they relate to the decontextualization of the material along with the corresponding material from Late Antiquity is in Gisela Ripoll López, *L'archéologie funéraire de Bétique d'après la collection visigothique du Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum de Mayence*. Thèse de Nouveau Doctorat, Université de Sorbonne-Paris IV, Thèse micrographiée 0741.15226/93. Université de Lille, Lille, 1993.

new peoples in *Hispania* is the result of recent excavations that have been completed in the Basque region. We are referring to the necropolis found in Aldaieta (Álava) and Buzaga (Navarra), which maintain extended connections with the necrópolis of Pamplona.⁵⁸ Both contain groups of graves whose spatial organization are completely diverse than those of Visigothic type that we mentioned above. At the moment of their foundation there was placed the tomb of a "chief" was placed there and surrounding this one the remaining sepulchral constructions were installed. The foundational tomb became the essential point of reference in the development of this cemetery.⁵⁹ Also, the materials found along with the personal remains reveals a military hierarchy and social stratification, including other population groups such as Aquitanians and indigenous Basques, but not any Visigoths. This evidence modified the historical perspective that was once held about this part of the Iberian Peninsula that experienced very little romanization (fig. 21).⁶⁰

In these very short pages we have seen, thanks to new documentary methodologies, the impacts of Christianity and the new population groups who were the catalysts that moved *Hispania* in Late Antiquity and its close relationships with the Mediterranean. It was not for the most part the so-called Christian-Visigothic archaeology that singularly defines the history of this period; it is rather the archaeology of Late Antiquity interpreted with close reference to textual sources.

The reflections outlined here demonstrate that the new avenues of research being pursued in the Iberian Peninsula are a search by means of the documents to find a holistic interpretation of Late An-

⁵⁸ An account of the excavation is to be published soon. In the meantime there are good preliminary insights in Agustín Azkárte Garai-Olaun, "Francos, aquitanos y vascones. Testimonios arqueológicos al Sur de los Pirineos," *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 66 (1993) 149-176, 5 figs.

⁵⁹ Concerning the problem of tombs of chiefs see, F. Vallet, "Les tombes de chef, reflet de l'histoire de la conquête," *La Picardie, berceau de la France, Clovis et les derniers Romains*. Amiens, 1986, pp. 113-116. Bailey K. Young, "Quelques réflexions sur les sépultures privilégiées, leur contexte et leur évolution surtout dans la Gaule de l'Est," in Duval and Picard (edit.), *L'inhumation privilégiées ...*, pp. 69-83, 5 figs. For a study on the concentric growth of some cemeteries see the example of Rübenach in, Ch. Neuffer-Müller and H. Ament, *Das fränkische Gräberfeld von Rübenach*, Germanische Denkmäler der Völkerwanderungszeit, 7, 1973.

⁶⁰ For the historical implications of these discoveries see: Agustín Azkárte Garai-Olaun, "The Western Pyrenees during the Late Antiquity. Reflections for a reconsideration of the issue," *Il territorio tra tardoantico e altomedioevo. Metodi di indagine e risultati*, Biblioteca di Archeologia Medievale, 9. Firenze, 1992, pp. 179-191.

tique *Hispania*. We should recall the words of Paul-Albert Février: “we cannot analyze the monuments, their forms and their images without placing them immediately in a total mental or visible setting.”⁶¹

Translated by Prof. Alberto Ferreiro

⁶¹ Février, “Archéologie et société,” p. 103.

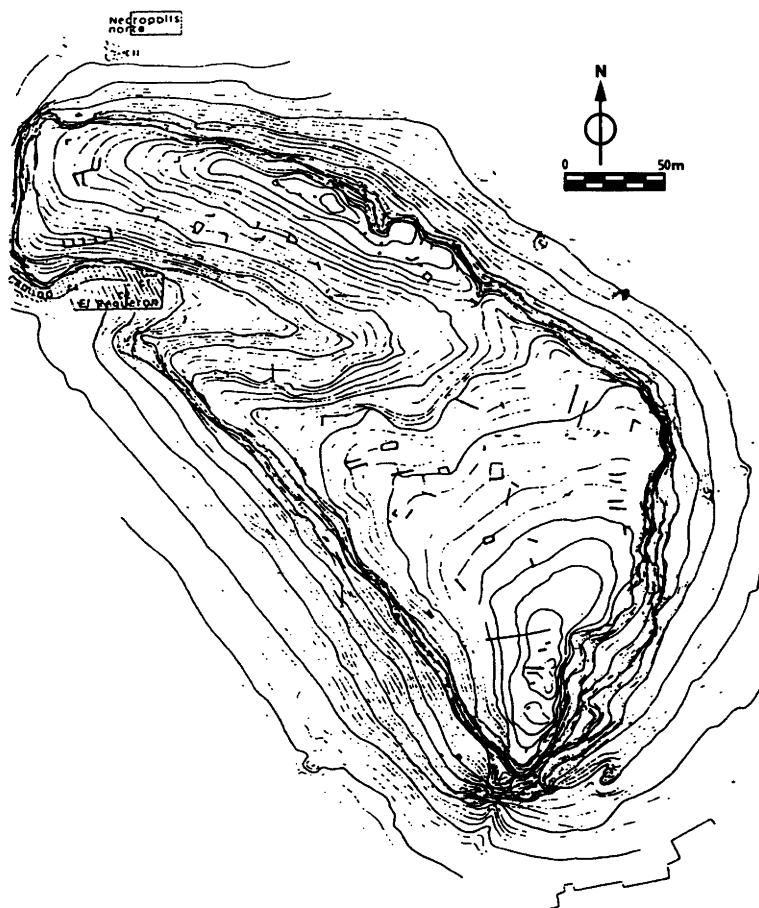
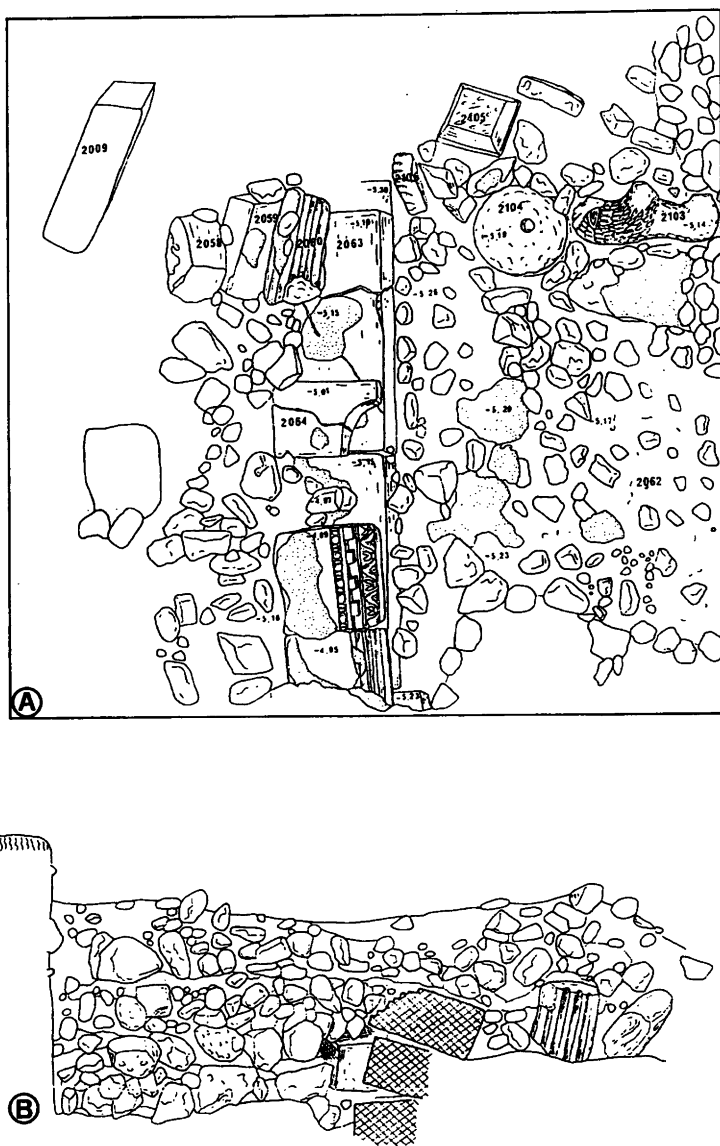


Figure 1. Topographic plan and structures of El Tomo de Minateda Hellin Albacete (L. Abad, S. Gutiérrez and R. Sanz).



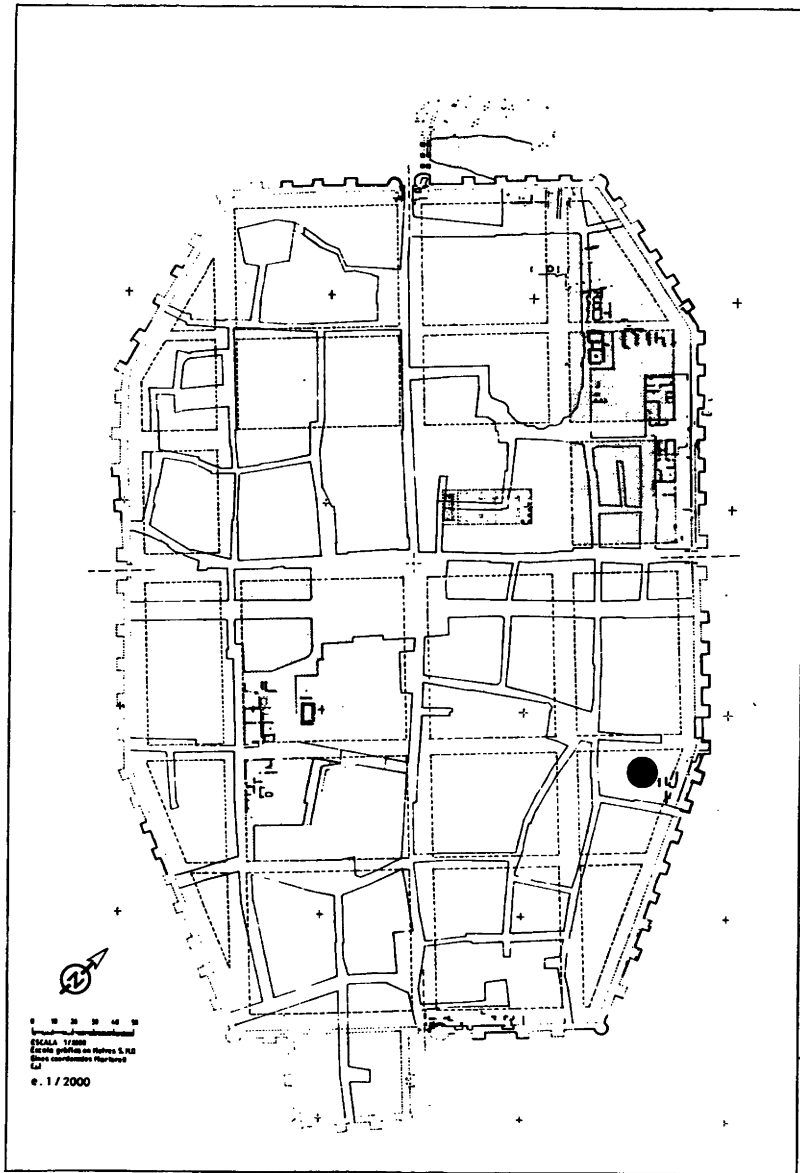


Figure 3. General plan of the city of Barcino and its excavated zones. The black circle identifies the place of the new *domus* excavated in the street Bisbe Caçador (O. Granados).

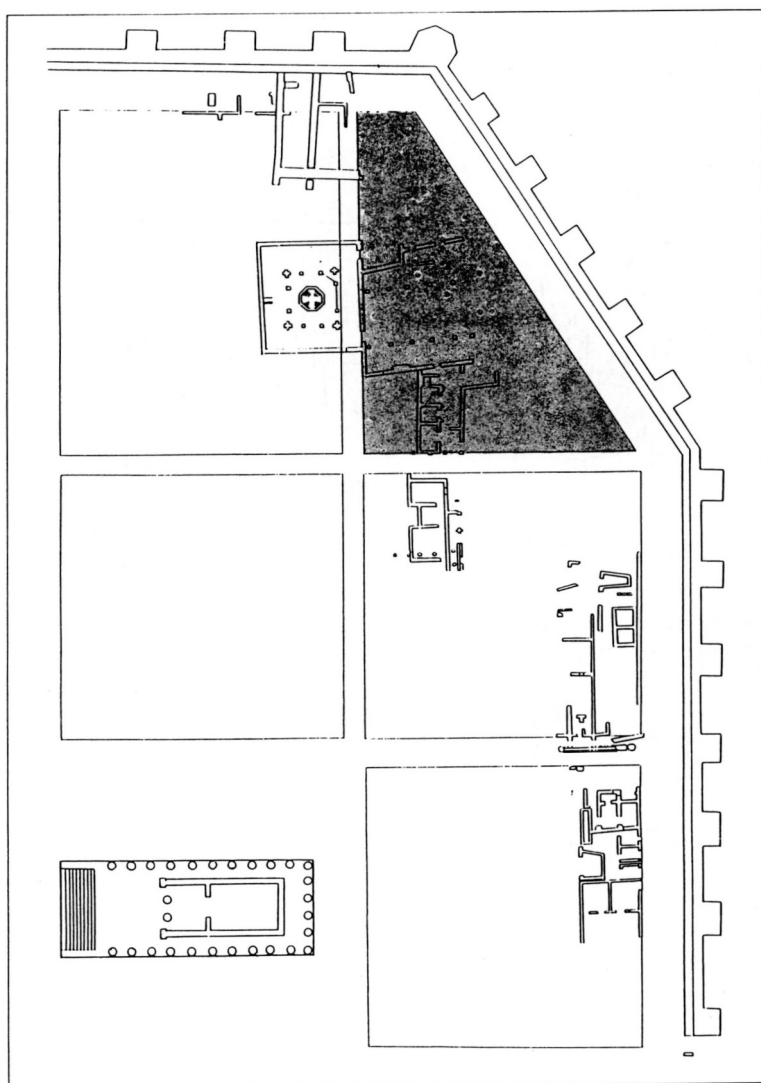


Figure 4. Plan of the northern sector of the city of Barcino with identification of the walled perimeter and late structures found next to the cathedral (O. Granados).

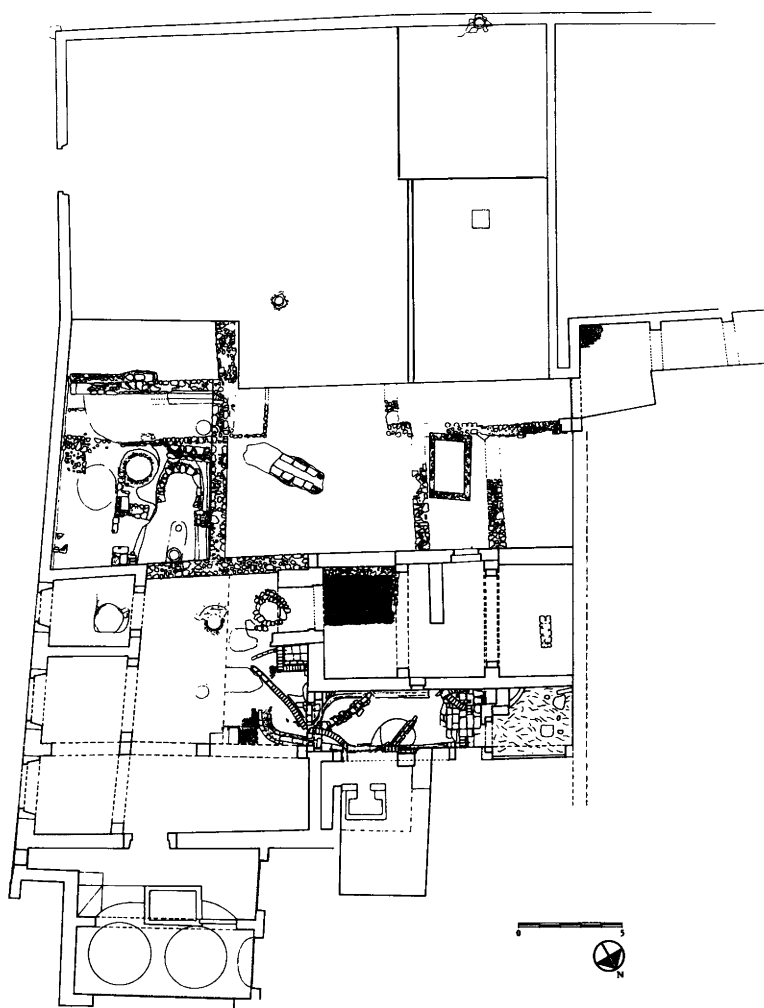


Figure 5. General groundfloors of the excavated structures in the city of Tarraco, identifiable with probability as an episcopal palace of Late Antiquity (X. Aquilué).

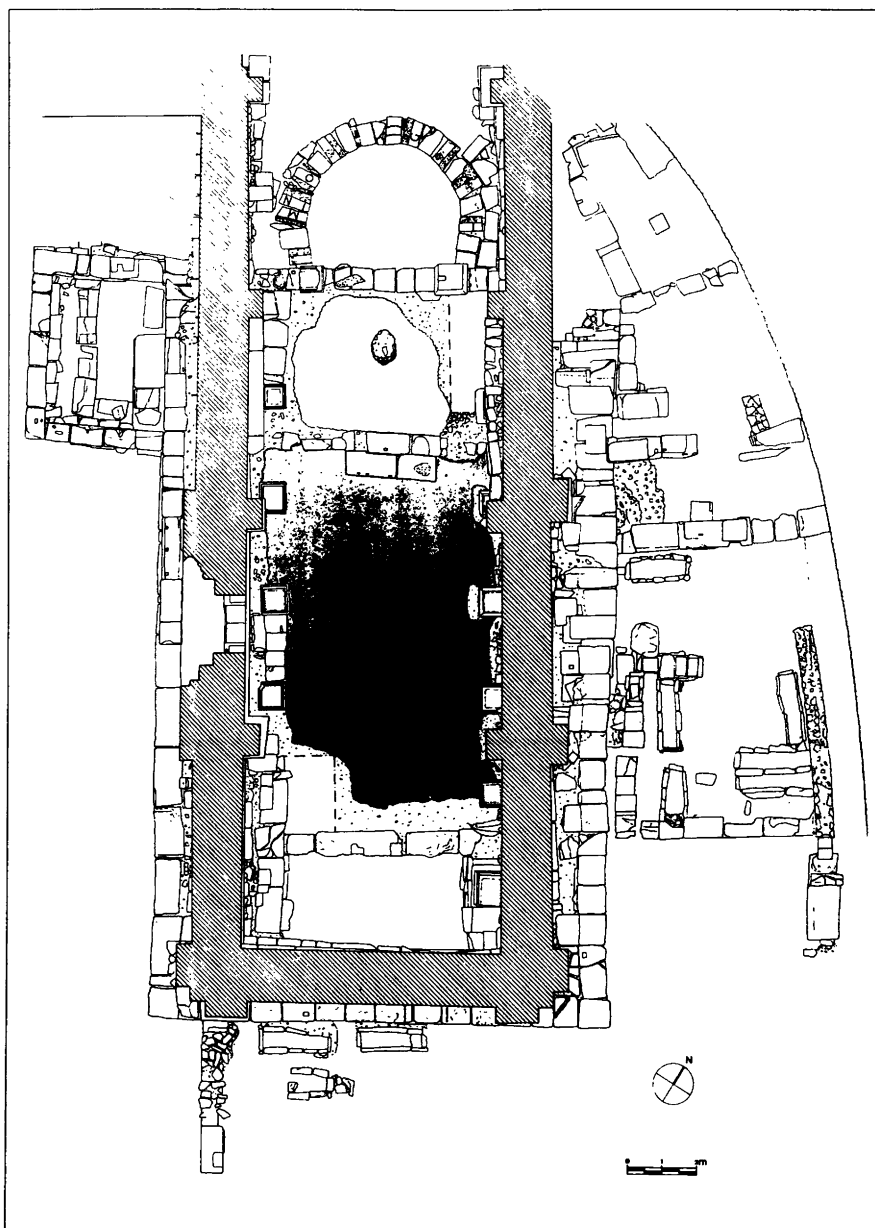


Figure 6. Groundfloor of the remains of the Late Antique church in the arena of the amphitheater at Tarraco (the shaded walls identify the romaneseque church). (TED'A).



Figure 7. General outlay of the city of Valentia with an identification of structures corresponding to Late Antiquity (J. Blasco, V. Escrivá, A. Ribera and R. Soriano).

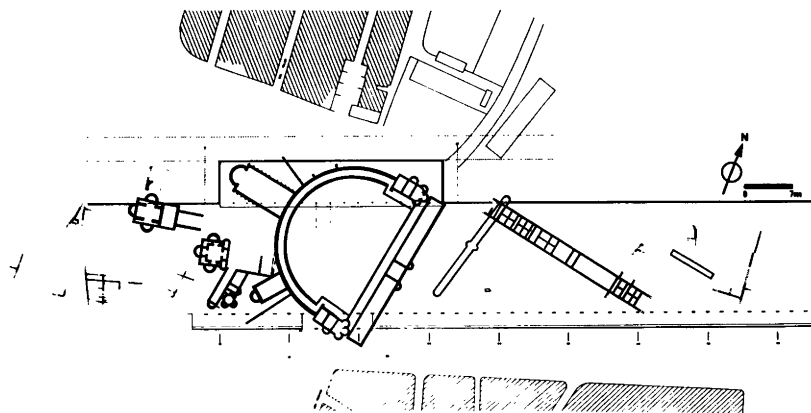


Figure 8. General plan of the architectural structure found in Cercadilla, Córdoba (R. Hidalgo and P. Marfil).

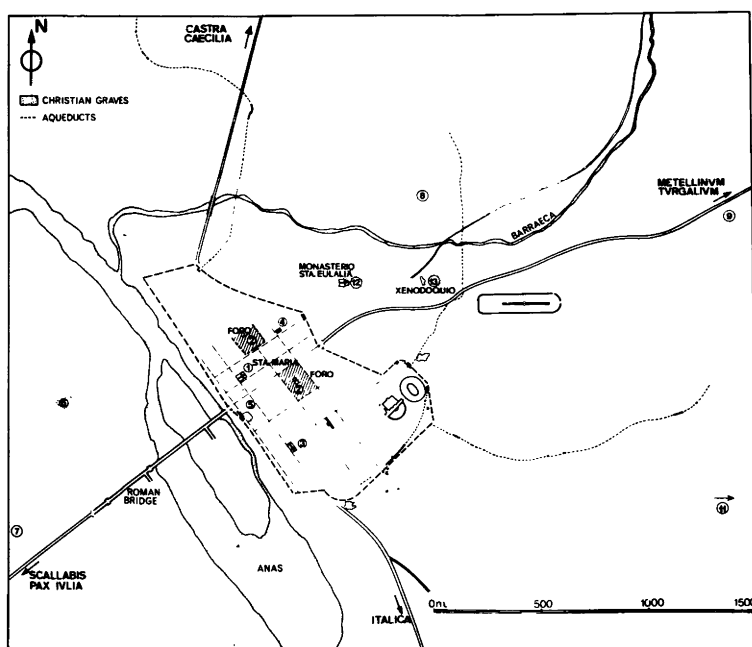


Figure 9. General plan of the city of Emerita Augusta during Late Antiquity (P. Mateos Cruz)



Figure 10. General groundfloor of the city of Recópolis, (Cerro de la Oliva, Zorita de los Canes, Guadalajara) with an identification of the excavated structure and the perimeter of the wall (K. Raddatz).

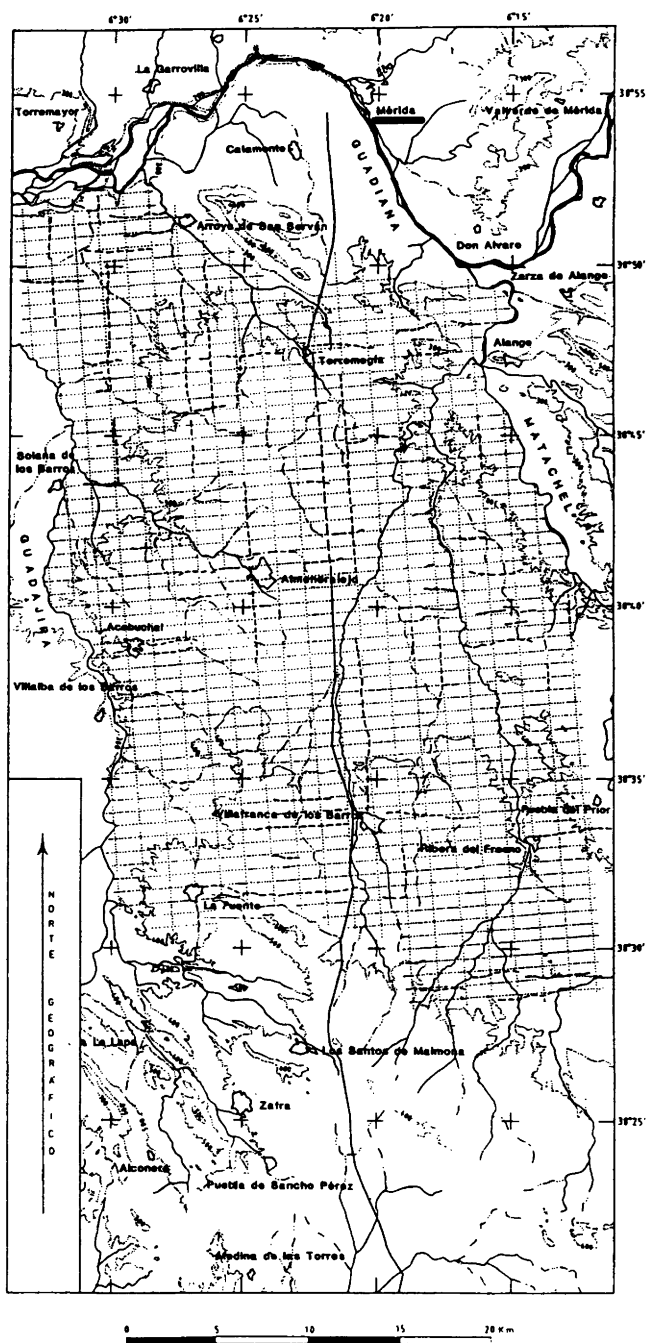


Figure 11. The *limitatio* south of Emerita Augusta (E. Ariño, J. M. Gurt and M. Martín-Bueno).

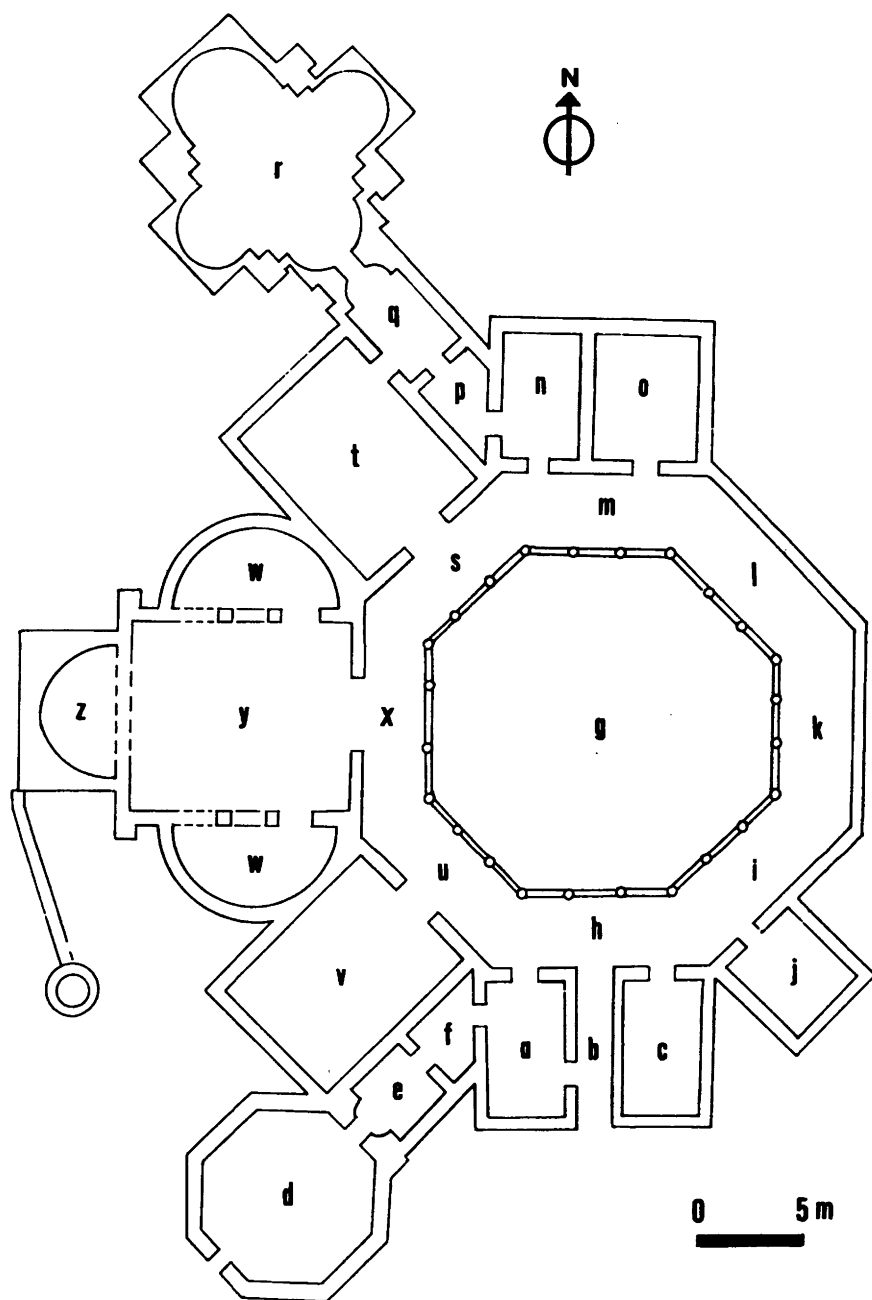


Figure 12. General plan of the architectural structures excavated in the *uilla* of El Rabaçal-Penela, Conimbriga, Portugal (M. Pessoa).

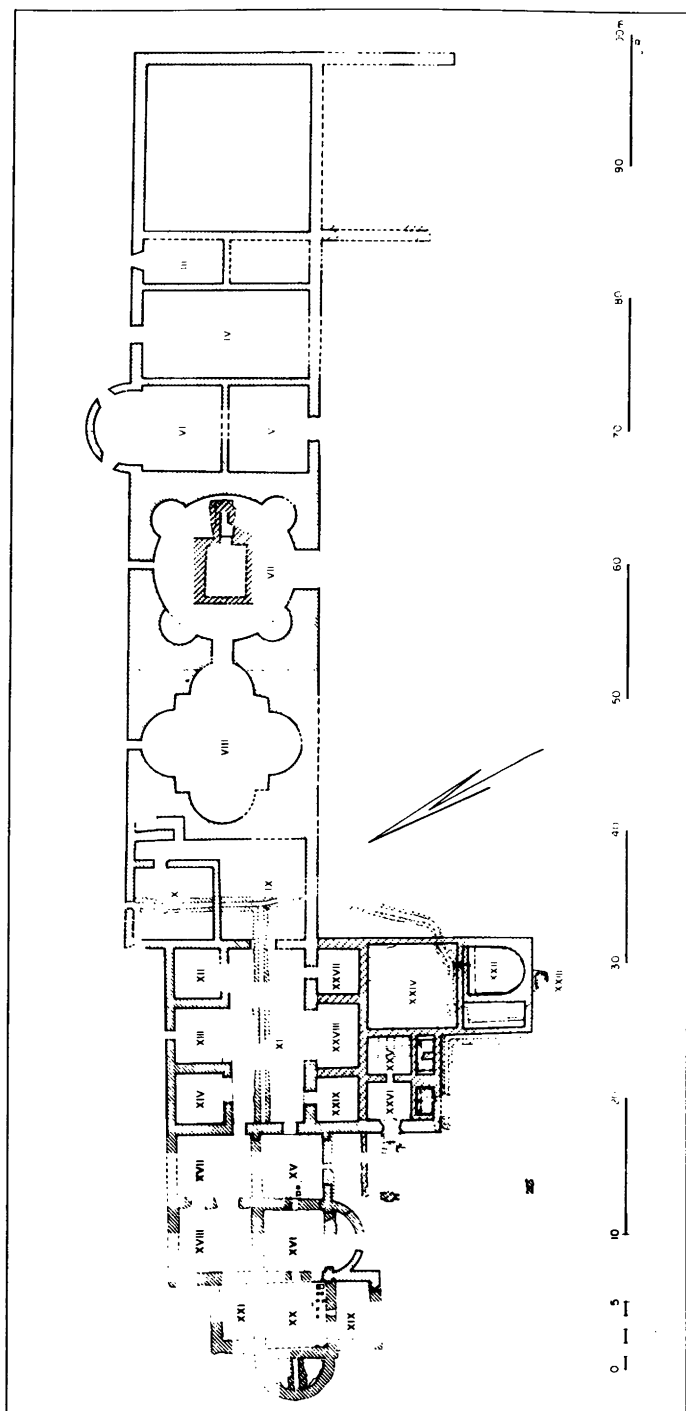
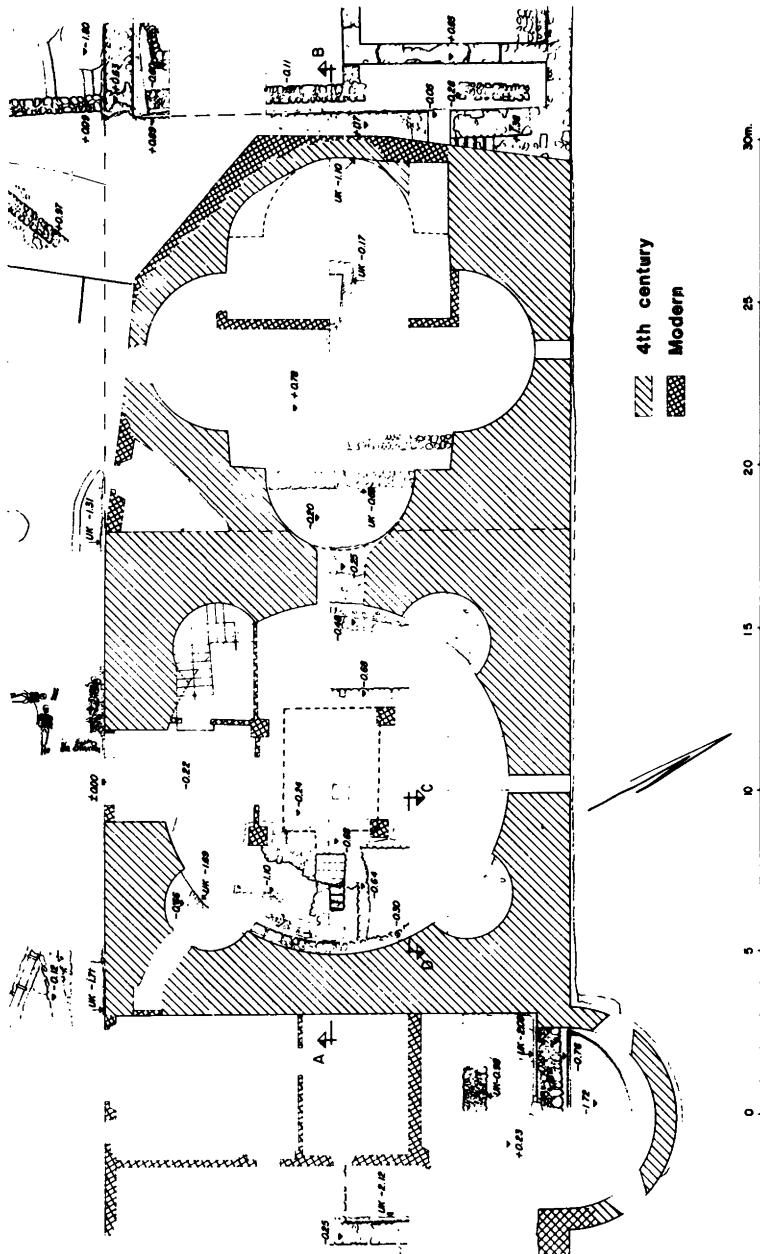


Figure 13. Groundfloor of the architectural remains excavated in Centelles—Constantí, Tarragona (I.A.A.).



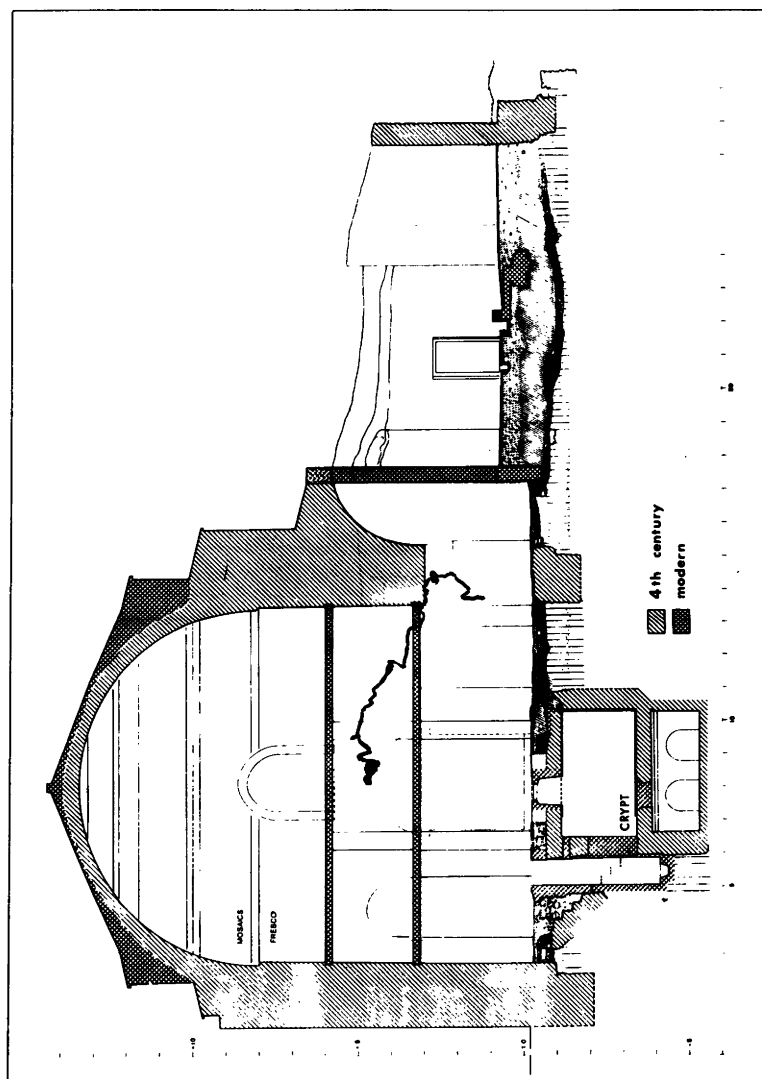


Figure 15. Section of the elevation of the quadrilobulate room with a cupula in Centelles—Constantí, Tarragona (I.A.A.).

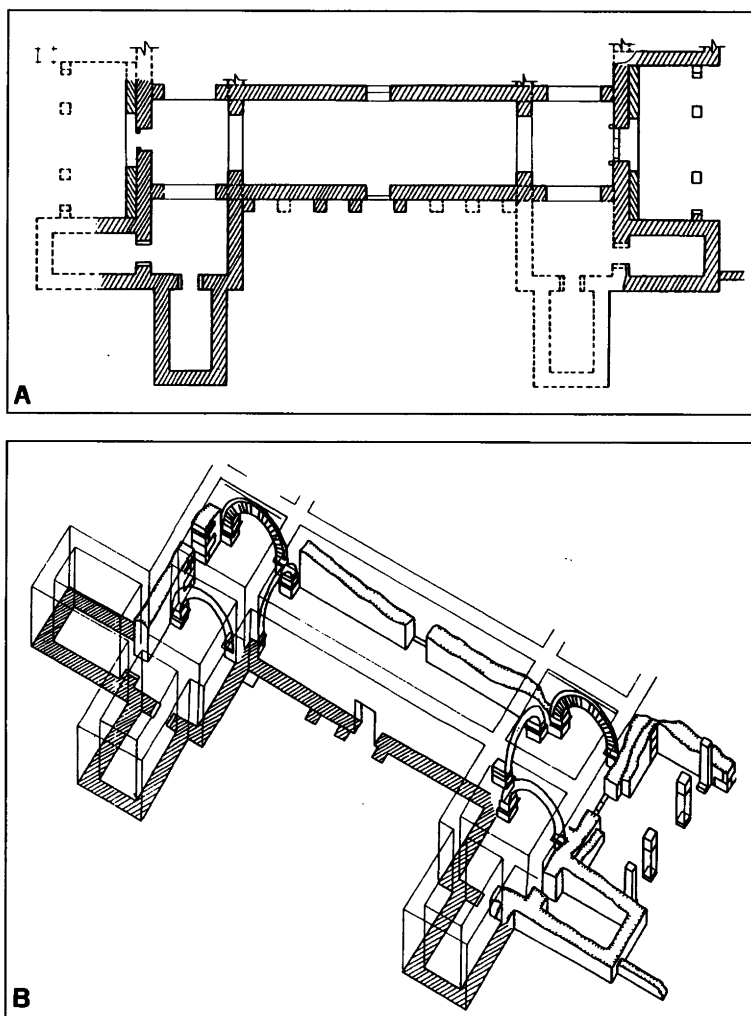


Figure 16. A. Groundfloor of the structures conserved in the *uilla* de Pla de Nadal (Riba-roja, Valencia). B. Elevated axonometric of the same architectural structure (E. Juan and I. Pastor).



Figure 17. Topographic and architectural plan of the site of El Bovalar—Seròs, Lérida (P. de Palol).

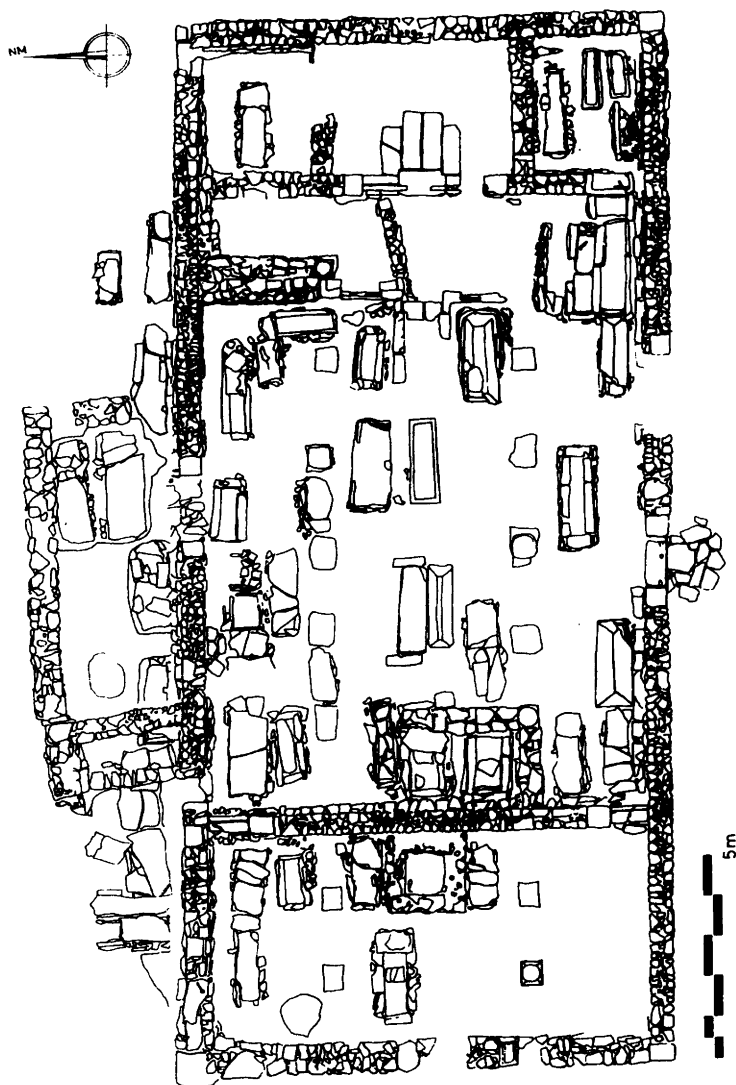


Figure 18. General plan of the church of El Bovalar situated in the northern population zone (P. de Palol).

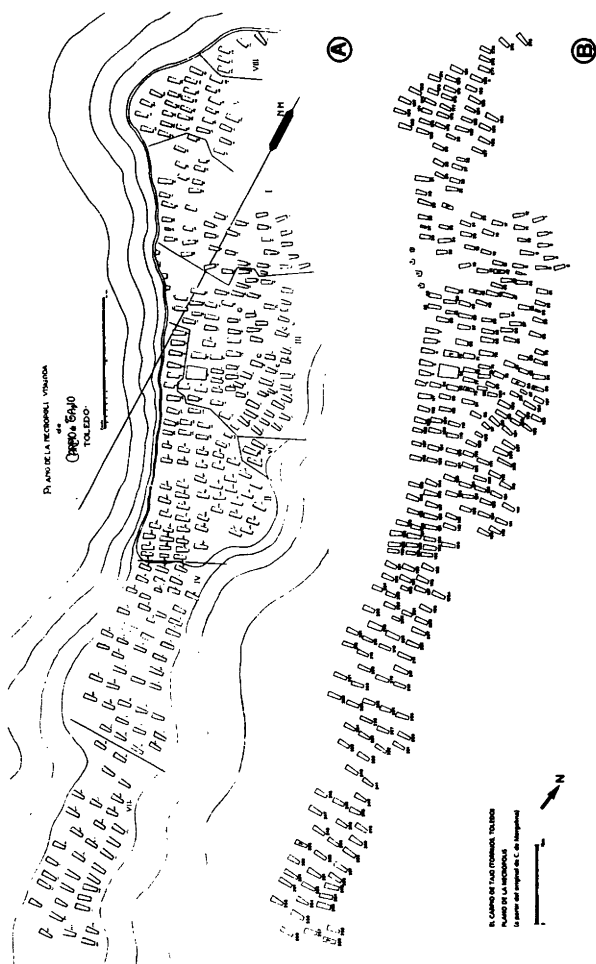


Figure 19. A. Original plan of the necropolis El Carpio de Tajo-Torrijos, Toledo (C. de Mergelina). B. Corrections to the original plan of Mergelina of the necropolis El Carpio de Tajo (G. Ripoll).



Figure 20. A. Possible phases of occupation of the necropolis El Carpio de Tajo: First phase, Second phase and Third phase (G. Ripoll). B. Occupation and evolution of the funerary nuclei of El Carpio de Tajo: A. Foundational nucleus at the end of the fifth century and beginning of the sixth. B. Funerary nucleus of the sixth century. C. Funerary nucleus from the second half of the sixth century to the end (G. Ripoll).

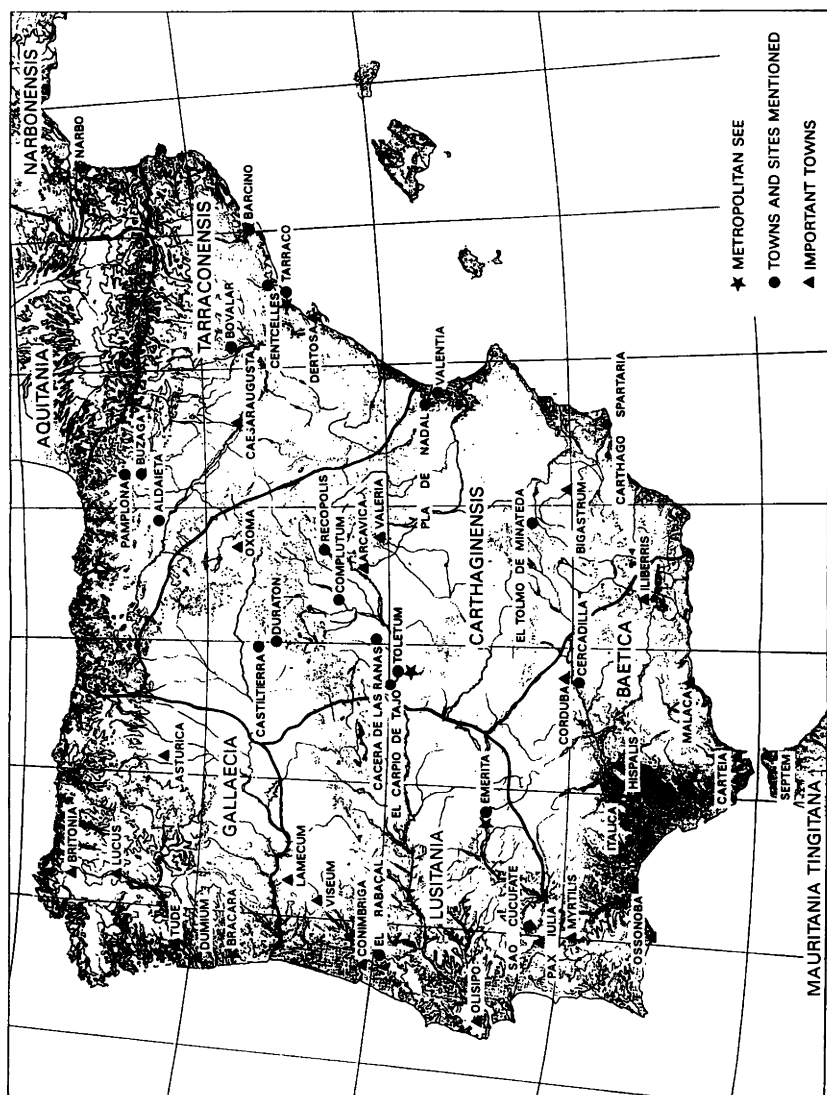


Figure 21. Map of Hispania in Late Antiquity (G. Ripoll).

CHAPTER TEN

SPANISH GOTHIC CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG THE MOZARABS IN AL-ANDALUS (VIII-XTH CENTURIES)

Luis A. García Moreno

The history of the Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages and the birth of the Spanish nation cannot be understood without considering the fundamental importance of the “Reconquista,” the ideal of restoring the ancient Gothic Kingdom of Toledo after the “loss of Spain” and its destruction by the Islamic invasion of 711.¹ Thus, awareness of having lost the union of Spanish territories under the monarchy founded by a people of epic virtues, the Goths, and of the need to restore that union, could be considered the true “myth-symbol” complex² on which modern Spanish ethnogenesis rested.³ It is useful to admit that the elements describing an ethnos existed in the Middle Ages along with historical antecedents and parallels to modern European nationalities. These are: the existence of a collective name, if possible associated with certain virtues and historic drama; the myth of a common origin; the sense of a shared past; a distinct common culture; association with a specific territory; and a sense of solidarity.⁴ Doubtlessly all these factors were at play in the history of the Iberian Peninsula between the fifth and seventh centuries and, by the beginning of the eighth century the existence of a Hispano-Gothic ethnic identity was fully consolidated among the ruling groups of the Visigothic kingdom of Toledo.⁵ Thus this consciousness of descending from a people with a great epic past, one mentioned in the classical sources and which even had alleged Biblical roots, was decisive for

¹ See J. A. Maravall, *El concepto de España en la Edad Media*. 2nd. ed. Madrid, 1964.

² About this understanding see A. D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford, 1986, 15 ff.

³ M.T. Walek-Czernecki, “Le rôle de la nationalité dans l’histoire de l’Antiquité,” *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences* 2 (1929) 305 thinks that a true “nation” (*ethnie* in our wording) is that which outlives the breaking down of its own polity.

⁴ A.D. Smith, *Ethnic Origins*, pp. 22-30.

⁵ S. Teillet, *Des goths à la nation gothique. Les origines de l’idée de nation en Occident du Ve au VIIe siècle*. Paris, 1984, although regretfully there are some nationalist intemperances and anachronisms.

Spanish ethnogenesis in the Middle Ages, as was also true of other European peoples.⁶

This study examines the survival of the Hispano Gothic consciousness and identity among the Mozarabs in al-Andalus during the VIII-Xth centuries, despite the historical hiatus created by the Muslim invasion of 711 which caused the destruction of the Visigoth Kingdom of Toledo and the subsequent constant pressure of Islamization and Arabization of the peoples in Andalusia. Hispano-Gothic self-identity and consciousness was preserved and propagated by an urban Mozarab elite, whose eschatological prospects would go so far as to believe firmly in an impending restoration of the ancient Gothic Kingdom in Spain. The existence of this identity and belief explains its later transfer and reproduction in the Asturian Kingdom, which gave full meaning to the "Reconquista", the primary myth of Spanish ethnogenesis.

Several testimonies show that claiming descent from the ancient Gothic nobility, even among those who had adopted the Islamic religion and joined famous Arabian families constituting the powerful "Muwallad" aristocracy shortly after the conquest, was a stamp of pride among the Andalusians. Doubtlessly the most famous case is that of the eminent Hispano-Arabic historian Ibn al-Qutiya (+977). This influential Cordoban courtier prided himself on descending from Visigothic nobility, specifically the family of King Witiza, if only through his mother, and went so far as to take "the son of the Goth" as his *laqab* or nickname.⁷ Several Christian or Muwallad nobles of the time used al-Quti, "the Goth", as *nisba* and some may have been actual descendants from the family of King Witiza.⁸ This claim indicates the prestige of both the ancient pre-invasion Visigothic nobility

⁶ See H. Koht, "The Dawn of Nationalism in Europe," *American Historical Review* 52 (1947) 265-280; S. Reynolds, "Medieval *origenes gentium* and the Community of the realm," *History* 68 (1983) 375.

⁷ He is identified as a great-great-grandson of Sara, King Witiza's grand-daughter first married to an Umayyad *mawala*: M^a I. Avila, *La sociedad hispanomusulmana al final del califato*. Madrid, 1985, 156 n° 820. We cannot discuss here the possibility of reconciling the two arab stories on the number of names of Witiza's sons. See M. Barceló, "El rei Akhila i els fills de Wititza: encara un altra recerca," *Miscellanea Barcinonensia* 49 (1978) 66-74; but I think he is wrong in dismissing so easily the hypothesis of F. Fernández y González, "Los reyes Acosta y Elier," *La España Moderna* 11 (1889) 93-101. We also should note that Witiza's son had the Latin name of Romulus: D. Claude, *Historisches Jahrbuch* 108 (1988) 340.

⁸ They are identified by M. Barceló, "Els "hispani" de Qurtuba a meitat del segle III," *Faventia* 3 (1981) 189.

as well as that of the royal family of Egica and Witiza. Beatus of Liébana ironically mentioned the many Toledans who, in his times, claimed descent from King Witiza to affirm their royal ancestry even when they lacked any fortune.⁹ However in some cases the "Witizanism" of the Muwallad and Christian nobles alike might also have served other objectives, already mentioned in regards to Ibn al-Qutiya: their desire to identify themselves with the Visigoth noble groups that had collaborated fairly early on with the Islamic invaders, and thus play on their ancient loyalty to their Damascan ancestors in the face of the current Cordoban Umayyad rulers.¹⁰ These political objectives would also go far to explain why the descendants of the famous Count Julian would proclaim their pride in being Goths many years after the Islamic conquest, even when this ancestor had been a key piece in the invaders' destruction of the Gothic Kingdom.¹¹

As important, or more so, than these onomastic clues is the manner how the cultured Mozarabs of the middle of the IXth century esteemed a classic literary tradition collected and manipulated by Isidore of Seville to preach the virtues of the ancient Goths, even before their conversion to Catholicism or entry into Spain. What is more, they seemed to have perceived themselves as the explicit inheritors of these Goths and thus, possessors of their virtues. In this respect Alvar's disparaging taunt to Bado the Frank, who had converted to the Jewish faith under the name of Eleazar and had come to preach Judaism in Spain, may be quite significant. Taking the old line of Gothic superiority over the Franks, which had been well constructed by Isidore of Seville and Julian of Toledo,¹² Alvar dissuaded his adversary from facing him, since, as a Goth, Alvar embodied the unbeatable military spirit of which Virgil and Lucan had sung and

⁹ Beat., *Epist. Elipand.*, (= *PL*, 96, col. 930).

¹⁰ A discussion about the agreement between Egica-Witiza's family and Muza is in L.A. García Moreno, "Los últimos tiempos del Reino visigodo," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 189 (1992) 448.

¹¹ L.A. García Moreno, "Ceuta y el estrecho de Gibraltar durante la antigüedad tardía (siglos V-VIII)," in E. Ripoll, (ed.), *Actas del Congreso Internacional. El Estrecho de Gibraltar. Ceuta, 1987*, I, Madrid, 1988, 1113 ff.) dicusses the possibility that Count *D. Julián*, although being from Byzantine stock, was in 711 the governor of a Visigothic county, including Algeciras (*Julia Transducta*) and Ceuta (*Septem*), a former Byzantine naval base.

¹² See H. Messmer, *Hispania-Idee und Gotenmythos*. Zürich, 1960, 91; H.-J. Diesner, *Isidor von Sevilla und das westgotische Spanien*. Berlin, 1977, pp. 32 ff. and 46 and 61 ff.; and S. Teillet, *Des goths a la nation gothique*, pp. 477 and 628 ff.

Isidore had written down.¹³ In the same text Alvar went on to substitute “Goth” with “Geta”, following Isidore of Seville in constructing an ideology that would reflect the Visigothic nobility and its kingdom’s superiority over the Romano-German nobility and kingdoms, including the Empire of Constantinople.¹⁴ The new Hispanic Goths were the descendants of the mythical Scythians, the prototype of the good savage and invincible warrior of the classical literary tradition. Alvar’s self-identification as a Goth would mean even more if this Cordoban Mozarab cleric actually descended from converted Jews.¹⁵ Some years later, when Alvar was praising the wisdom of Leovigild, an extremely powerful Christian noble, he wrote that the latter “radiated a Getic glow”, logically attributable to his ancient lineage.¹⁶

By claiming the aretology that is indissolubly joined to the Getae in the classic literary tradition, Alvar also assumed an ethnic propaganda and tradition firmly established among the Hispano-Visigothic nobility of Córdoba at the beginning of the seventh century, before Isidore of Seville’s polished literary work had been elaborated. Testimony of this is the famous notarial *formula* in verse that was written in Córdoba in 615, in which a young noble established his dowry in benefit of his bride. To prove the ancient nobility of their blood, the groom not only assumed the Gothic tradition of the *Morgingeba*; but he also proudly proclaimed, that his future wife was “Gothic” and that her family belonged to the Cordoban *curia*.¹⁷ However, the exact word used for the former (*geticae*) shows how much this nobility, by now clearly Hispano-Visigothic, had contaminated their supposed Gothic identity with cultural elements that revealed a classicist con-

¹³ Alv., *Epist.*, 20. Isid., *Hist.Goth.*, 67 and 69; *Etym.*, 9.2.89.

¹⁴ Isid., *Hist.Goth.*, 1; 67; 69; *Etym.*, 9.2.89.

¹⁵ This descent is based on the own words by Alvar contending against Eleazar (Alv., *Epist.*, XVIII, 4 and 5); E. Ashtor, *The Jews of Moslem Spain*. Philadelphia, 1973, 74. Of course Alvar’s name is from Gothic stock, J. M. Piel - D. Kremer, *Hispanogotisches Namenbuch*. Heidelberg, 1976, p. 69, and so he might be from a hybrid descent; but it is wrong to affirm a family link between Alvar and the famous mozarab Hafs b. Albar, said to be an offspring from King Witiza in 989 at Córdoba. See D. M. Dunlop, “Hafs b. Albar-the last of the Goths?” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1954) 149 ff. Otherwise in his debate with Eleazar Alvar tries to show a spiritual, not an actual Israel, in which are depicted people proclaiming Jesus as the Messiah. He distinguishes between a Jew and a Hebrew, and he denies explicitly his own Jewish name. Lastly Isidore of Seville (*Hist.Goth.*, 66) tells that the Goths descended from Magog, thus making them different from all the other Germanic *gentes*, H.-J. Diesner, *Isidor von Sevilla*, 61 ff.

¹⁶ Alv., *Carm.*, 9, 146, *qui Getica luce fulgit*. About this Leovigild see *infra* note 13.

¹⁷ *Form.*, 20: *Insigne merito et Getice de stirpe senatus / illius sponsae nimis dilectae ille*.

ception of their ethnic roots and ideology. This is a development already present in the important historiographic works of Cassiodorus and Jordanes in the first half of the sixth century. It is very difficult to think that this was all a simple coincidence. Very much to the contrary, it supposes that the Cordoban Christian nobility at the end of the ninth century knew and accepted the whole ethnic ideology their ancestors had elaborated at the beginning of the seventh century. We are now in a better position to understand why the curious notarial *formula* of Sisebut's times was still being copied in Córdoba many years later. The clients demanded it, and apparently these ethnic and cultural references were in vogue.¹⁸

Naturally, maintaining this legendary origin meant that men of letters were the ideological leaders of the Mozarab community since the transmission and reproduction of such a collective ideology would be based on the written culture. Also, it should not be forgotten that both the literary and Latin culture were not the exclusive domain of the ecclesiastic elite among the Mozarabs. The lay nobles appreciated books and were as interested as the priest Eulogius in finding new codices to enrich their own library or to donate to the library of some important educational and religious center. An example would be the important library of the powerful Christian noble Leovigild,¹⁹ and the donations of books made by Count Adulphus to the library of the monastery-basilica of Saint Aciscus.²⁰

Several sources identify the Mozarabs' literary collections and the content of their libraries; however, since this task has already been accomplished by others it is not our objective here.²¹ Nevertheless, it may be particularly instructive to note the famous inventory of what must have been an important library at Córdoba in 882, particularly the one in the influential Mozarab educational center attached to the

¹⁸ On the Mozarab, maybe from Córdoba, origin of Visigothic *formulae* codex see A. García Gallo, "Consideración crítica de los estudios sobre la legislación y la costumbre visigodas," *AHDE* 44 (1974) 400 with the previous bibliography; and C. Petit, "De negotiis causarum," *AHDE* 55 (1985) 188, n. 73.

¹⁹ Alv., *Carm.*, IX. This Leovigild was proud of his *getica* race (*ibid.*, v. 146), and maybe he must be identified as a noble friend of Emir Muhammad and helper of the Frank Usuard who in 858 was traveling through al-Andalus in search of relics (*Acta Sanctorum*, Iul. t. VI, 462, cf. B. Gaiffier, "Les notices hispaniques dans le martyrologe d'Usuard," *Analecta Bollandiana* 55 (1937) 269. See J. Gil, *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabiorum*. Madrid, 1973, II, p. 667.

²⁰ Cyprian., *Epigram.*, I in (ed.). J. Gil, *Corpus Scriptorum*, II, p. 685.

²¹ An example is J. Fontaine, "La literatura mozárabe 'Extremadura' de la latinidad cristiana antigua," en *Arte y cultura mozárabe*. Toledo, 1979, p. 106 ff.

Martyr's basilica of Saint Zoylus, where Eulogius studied.²² The library also included indispensable biblical, liturgical, and canonical codices, lexicological texts, works on the natural sciences, and collections of poetic works. In the tradition of rhetorical teaching in the ecclesiastic Visigothic schools of the seventh century, there was a collection of the Hispano-Visigoth Fathers and even an important historiographic *corpus*. The composition of the latter may be particularly indicative of Mozarab historical consciousness. The historiographic *corpus* contained the 'histories' of Orosius and those by Eusebius translated by Rufinus, and the *Liber Cronicorum beati Isidori*.²³ Aside from "Ecclesiastical History", the other two are so much central to the lay Andalusian Christians' historical memory that, in many cases, they constituted a single historiographic *codex*.²⁴ The condensation of pre-Visigothic history in Orosius fulfilled two objectives quite well: it gave a Christian view of classical history, and it casts the Barbarian invasions within a great "Divine plan" for the Christianization of Iberia, and the establishment of the Gothic Kingdom in Spain. The Andalusian Christians doubtlessly reinforced their ethnic identification as *gothi/getae* as well as *christicolae* and *hispani* through this historiographic triptych.²⁵

Isidore of Seville ended his "Praise of Spain", the introduction to his *Historia Gothorum*, with a rhetorical allusion, based upon biblical

²² An edition with commentary is in Gil, *Corpus Scriptorum*, II, 707-708. This point might be established if the Eulogios mentioned in f. 6v is that saint. There is also mention of "The City of God" by Augustinus and the poetic works by Adhelmus in this inventory, since we know Eulogius carried these books from Navarra. Cf. A. Millares, *Los códices visigóticos de la Catedral Toledana*, Madrid, 1935, 52 ff. Some scholars have their doubts, see M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *De Isidoro al siglo XI. Ocho estudios sobre la vida literaria peninsular*. Barcelona, 1976, 67 and note 28. An alternative view is in J. Fontaine «La literatura mozárabe», p. 107 note 3.

²³ This would be a translation into Latin of the "Ecclesiastical History" of Eusebius of Caesarea, made by Rufinus of Aquileia and quoted by Alvar and Eulogius more than once. See Gil, *Corpus Scriptorum*, II, p. 727.

²⁴ The evidence for this: 1) the famous Arab translation, made in Córdoba, of Orosius' "History" interpolated and extended up until the end of the Visigothic Kingdom in Spain. See G. Levi della Vida, "La traduzione araba delle Storie di Orosio," *Al-Andalus* 19 (1954) 267 ff.; 2) the famous "Rotense" codex (Acad. de la Historia 78), which included Orosius' "History," Isidore's *Chronica* and "Gothic History," the so-called "Chronicles of Alfonso III" and other later works. Its first sections may proceed from a mozarab manuscript, M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval*. Logroño, 1979, pp. 32-37.

²⁵ See *infra* and L. A. García Moreno, "En las raíces de Andalucía (ss. V-X): los destinos de una aristocracia urbana," *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* 65 (1995) pp. 853ff.

and Roman roots, to the union between the victorious Goth nation and the supremely fecund Spain, the basis of a secure and fertile kingdom. This kingdom's final victory over the Byzantine Empire is what transformed Hispania from being the only *terra natalis* of the Hispano-Romans into the *patria* of the Goths.²⁶ In the second half of the seventh century, this identification, to judge by the testimonies of the conciliar records, had not ceased and it reached its apogee in the "History of Wamba" by Julian of Toledo (c.675). By then *Hispania* and *Regnum Gothorum* seem to be used interchangeably. The simple word "Spain" was identified and frequently substituted for that political entity and *hispanus*, Spaniard, became a synonym for Goth; the latter acquired an emphatic value that was particularly useful when referring to the famous military virtues associated with that ancient race, the glorious ancestors of the contemporary Spaniards and founders of the then-unified *Regnum Hispaniae*.²⁷ These ethnic and territorial self identifications would still be very much alive among the Andalusian Mozarabs, even though by eighth and ninth centuries Spain was dominated by different political powers and polities. Even though some were Christian, most of them were Islamic.

Judged by his writings, Eulogius (+859) and his compatriots still considered *Hispania* as a geographic unit whose northern limits were the Pyrenees, independently of the states then struggling with each other. In this light, distant Gerona, then under Carolingian domination, was also a Spanish city, one that bordered Gallia.²⁸ Eulogius thus kept faith with the geographic identification and concept of Spain and the Hispanism that Julian of Toledo had so clearly enunciated at the end of the seventh century. Julian felt that both Spain and *Gallia (Narbonensis)* were under Gothic domain; a dichotomy that is also reflected in the canonical tradition of the Visigothic Church.²⁹ For Andalusian Christians, Spain was the common and original fatherland of all of Spain's Christians; they, although having fallen under the cruel domination of the Arabs,³⁰ were still the collective

²⁶ S. Teillet, *Des goths a la nation gothique*, pp. 498-501.

²⁷ S. Teillet, *Des goths a la nation gothique*, pp. 562-584 and 628-633. Also these identities were known abroad from the Visigothic Kingdom, and a proof of it is the word *Spania* used by Ps. Fredegario (§6;33;73;82) for calling this kingdom.

²⁸ Eulog., *Mem.Sanc.*, I,24.

²⁹ In this respect the study of S. Teillet is conclusive, *Des goths a la nation gothique*, pp. 573 and 628.

³⁰ Alv., *Vit.Eulog.*, 12.

object of their clerics' teachings³¹, and part of a single Spanish Church³² still under the doctrinal primacy of the metropolitan see in Toledo.³³

The Andalusian Mozarab self-identification with Spain at the end of the ninth century was the continuation of a collective ethnic myth that is dramatically present in the 754 "Mozarab Chronicle," and clearly reflected in its famous "Lament for Spain".³⁴ This literary passage represents a counterpoint to Isidore's *Laus Hispaniae*, and both reflect the belief that Spanish lands were superior to others.³⁵ According to its anonymous author his Hispanic homeland had been invaded by foreigners, Muslim Arabs and Moors or Berbers, who were characterized by their cruelty and constant frauds against the Spaniards.³⁶ This negative view remained unchanged over a century later among the Andalusian Mozarabs, to judge by the testimonies of Alvar and Eulogius. For the former, the real truth, even in his times, was that "the Arab domination villainously continues to destroy the borders of Spain with astuteness and swindles".³⁷ For Eulogius the *impia gens* of the Arabs³⁸ was a foreign race in Spain,³⁹ one whose members generically expressed a racist hatred (*ethniconum vel odio*) for Andalusian Christians, especially if the latter occupied some position of power, as would have been the case of the noble Argimirus.⁴⁰

People like Eulogius and Alvar did not regard the Arabs as foreigners because of religious differences, as some might be inclined to think, but more so because of ethnic standards based on criteria of lineage.⁴¹ In this respect it should be remembered how, when refer-

³¹ Alv., *Vit.Eulog.*, 4: Eulogius came back to Spain (*Hispaniae*.) to teach Latin metrics.

³² Eulog., *Mem.Sanc.*, I,6: ...*omnis ecclesiae Hispaniae*...

³³ Eulog., *Epist.Wilesind.*, 7.

³⁴ *Cont.Hisp.*, 45 (= 55 ed. J. E. López Pereira, *Crónica Mozárabe del 754*. Zaragoza, 1980). Hereafter, *Cont.Hispana*, according to the Mommsen edition and, whose paragraph divisions we follow.

³⁵ Isid., *Hist.Goth.*, "De laude Hispaniae." Cf. S. Teillet, *Des goths a la nation gothique*, p. 498 ff.; R. Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes en la España medieval (El enemigo en el espejo)*. transl. from Hebrew, Madrid, 1984, 29.

³⁶ *Cont.Hisp.*, 43 and 45; cf. R. Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes*, 23 ff.

³⁷ Alv., *Vit.Eulog.*, 12; but in his *Rescriptio* to Eulogius he remembers the *arabicum dolum* (in Gil, *Corpus Scriptorum*, II, p. 366,56).

³⁸ Eulog., *Mem.Sanc.*, I,30.

³⁹ Eulog., *Mem.Sanc.*, II,1,1.

⁴⁰ Eulog., *Mem.Sanc.*, III,16.

⁴¹ Under these conditions Arabic was used, instead of Latin, as a tool for transmitting culture and making ethnic identity. We must recall Alvar's well known criticism (*Indiculus luminum*, 35) and the no usage of the word "muzarab" by the Chris-

ring to the Christian martyr Christophorus, for whom he felt obvious sympathy, Alvar nevertheless felt it necessary to note that racially Christophorus was an Arab.⁴² In Alvar's mind, based principally on his ideal Hispano-Gothic identity, having embraced the Christian Catholic faith did not sever the ethnic barriers that separated the Spaniards from the Arab invaders. In another sense, a Spaniard having adopted the faith of Mohammed did not constitute, in the minds of the same Mozarabs, an annulment of his Hispanic condition or elimination of the racial barriers separating them from the majority Islamic groups, whether Arabs or Berbers. Thus, Eulogius could only call the Sevillian Muwallad noble, who married a Christian lady and fathered the martyr Flora, a pagan (*gentilis*).⁴³ *Gentilis* is the same adjective Eulogius used for the father of the martyrs Nunilo and Alodia, doubtlessly the daughters of a Muwallad and a Christian lady from Barbastro in Huesca.⁴⁴ Alvar used the same adjective to refer to the parents of the martyr Leocritia: who were of noble blood, but neither Christian nor Arab.⁴⁵

The Andalusian Hispano-Christians' feelings for the Arabs and Muwallads were, naturally, reciprocated with respect to the former and even among the latter. In fact, Ron Barkai has convincingly demonstrated how the historian Ibn al-Qutiya (+977) could be considered a spokesman of the noble Muwallad groups of his times.⁴⁶ In this respect, the anecdote of the lively dialogue between his ancestor, the Christian Artobas, son of the king Witiza, and the first Cordoban

tian people in al-Andalus. The word *musta'rib*, signifying "arab-like," would have been a pejorative one, forged by the most fanatical Christians against the arab-like Christians. V. Cantarino, *The Ninth Century Cordoban Mozarabs: did they really know Arabic?*, cited by T. F. Glick, *Cristianos y musulmanes en la España medieval (711-1250)*. transl. from English, Madrid, 1991, p. 232; and R. Hitchcock, "El supuesto mozarabismo andaluz," in *Actas I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía. Andalucía Medieval*, I, Córdoba, 1978, pp. 149-150, who does not think "mozarab" was used to identify Christians dwelling in al-Andalus.

⁴² Alv., *Vit.Eulog.*, 12.

⁴³ Eulog., *Mem.Sanc.*, II,8,3. The couple's offspring were called *nobiles* by Eulogius. The family had a sizeable patrimony, and was possibly a source of trouble with the Umayyad; since, as Eulogius tells, Flora's parents, before her birth, had to go into exile from their estates (*proprii loci*) in Seville, but nevertheless found a refuge in a village near Córdoba.

⁴⁴ Eulog., *Mem.Sanc.*, II,7,2. An oddity is a no Muwallad giving Gothic names to his two daughters. See J. M Piel - D. Kremer, *Hispano-gotisches Namenbuch*. Heidelberg, 1976, pp. 68 and 210.

⁴⁵ Alv., *Vit.Eulog.*, 13.

⁴⁶ M^a. I. Fierro, "La obra histórica de Ibn al-Qutiyya," *Al-Qantara* 10 (1989) 510 ff.

Umayyad would have had the purpose of achieving an rapprochement of both the Christian nobility and the Arabian aristocracy. He reminds the former of their common belonging to the Hispanic fatherland, and the latter of his political loyalty.⁴⁷ Ibn al-Qutiya himself would be radically different from other Hispano-Muslim historians of those centuries because of his positive view of the great Muwallad rebels of the ninth century, Marwan al-Yahiqui and Umar ibn Hafsun. In the opinion of the Muwallad historian both rebelled and fought for liberty against an unjust government, and showed the appreciated virtues of fidelity to their word as well as warlike bravery. Significantly, this opinion was completely the opposite of those held by the later Hispano-Arab historian Ibn Hayyan. Writing in the sad years of the Andalusian *Fitna*, Ibn Hayyan saw the occasional pacts between those Muwallad rebels and the Astur-Leonese Christians as a faithful reflection of “an *asabiya*-solidarity born of tribal community between the Muwallads and the unfaithful, and the abandonment of the Arabs”.⁴⁸ He and other tenth century Hispano-Arab writers would also show their disdain and hatred for the Andalusian Mozarabs while mentioning Arab superiority, and, what is more significant, the Arabs’ sense of being foreigners in the Hispanic lands and their irrepressible nostalgia for the East. In this respect the testimony of al-Razi (855-955) is particularly interesting. He did not stop showing his oriental homesickness⁴⁹ even though he was the Hispano-Arab historian who showed the most interest in and affection for the pre-Islamic history of al-Andalus. He is the one who composed a famous praise of Spain that has at times been compared to the one by Isidore.⁵⁰ These feelings are also seen in the famous eulogy of Spain, written by the great Andalusian and Arab poet Ibn Hazm, known for his diatribe against the Berbers, even though they were Muslims, too.⁵¹ The same feeling is exuded by the famous poem attributed to the first Cordoban Umayyad:

I found a palm in the center of the ruzafa
Growing in the country of the West,
far from the land of palms I said: Being a vagabond in a foreign

⁴⁷ R. Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes*, p. 66 ff.

⁴⁸ R. Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes*, pp. 87-93.

⁴⁹ R. Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes*, pp. 78-79.

⁵⁰ Ed. by D. Catalán - M^l S. de Andrés, *Crónica del Moro Rasis*. Madrid, 1974, pp. 11-12. But his praise is only of Spanish geography, not of the people dwelling on it.

⁵¹ E. García Gómez, *El collar de la paloma, tratado sobre el amor y los amantes*. 3th ed. Madrid, 1971; cf. R. Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes*, p. 81.

land long separated from kin and friends You've grown in a land in which you are foreign. I, like you, am in the strange land—May the clouds of dawn in this foreign land bring you rain and may you never lack abundant waters!⁵²

But if the Hispano-Arabs felt they were foreigners in Spanish lands in these centuries, and saw Christians and Muwallads, joined by a special *asabiya* as possible enemies to their rule, it is because they thought of them as two aboriginal groups in these same lands. And, logically, the Hispano-Arabs gave the natives an ethnic name reflecting their identity. The proof is found in a text containing Andalusian references, compiled by the encyclopedist of the Abbassides Caliphate, Ibn Khurdadbeh⁵³ in the middle of the tenth century, in which the inhabitants of Córdoba are surprisingly called *al-Isban*, a simple Arabic transcription of the word *Hispani*.⁵⁴ This denomination was quite possibly collected by the secret services of the Abbasside *diwan al-barid*, which would use a name that was applicable to the majority of the Cordoban population of the time: Muwallads and Christians. Both defined themselves as Spaniards, and as such were recognized by the Arab minority.⁵⁵ This meaning for the *al-Isban* ethnic name explains how, in his catalogue of the native peoples of Occident, placed in the mouth of the conqueror Muza ibn Nuzayr, Ibn al-Qutiya, however, only mentions Basques, Spaniards (*al-isban*), Franks and Roman-Byzantines (*rumies*).⁵⁶

So it does not seem that one can doubt that the Mozarab elite of these centuries still maintained the consciousness of being part of an ethnic-geographical identity called Spain, whose unity and political expression had been the *Regnum Hispaniae*, founded on the epic virtues of the Goths as the axis for this ideological reality. However, the kingdom of the Goths had been destroyed by the Islamic invasion of

⁵² Delivered by al-Maqqari (*Nafh a-tib*, IV, Beirut, 1968, pp. 54-55).

⁵³ See A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11 siècle*. 2nd. ed. Paris-La Hague, 1973, p. 87 ff.

⁵⁴ Ed. in M. Hadj-Sadok, *Description du Maghreb et de l'Europe au III=IX Siècle (extraits)*. Arger, 1949, p. 10.

⁵⁵ Ibn Khurdadbeh used this national name only with reference to the people dwelling there before the Muslim invasion, since he names King Roderick's people and he explains this name as originating from Ispahan city; this latter mistake might spring from a known Isidorian etymology (*Etymologiae*, XIV,4,28). *Hispalus* and *Hispalis*, became *Ispano* or *Espan* at the hands of other Spanish-Arab historians such as Rasis (D. Catalán - M^a S. de Andrés, *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, LXXVII).

⁵⁶ Ibn al-Qutiya (ed.) trans., J. Ribera, *Historia de las conquistas de España*. Madrid, 1926, pp.180-181.

the beginning of the eighth century. That is why it is convenient to wonder about the feelings their Visigothic political past awakened among these Andalusian Christians, and to what extent they might have thought their past was usable and recoverable in their present and immediate future circumstances.

A generation after the invasion, the anonymous cleric who wrote the "754 Mozarab Chronicle" was certain that the Gothic Kingdom was a thing of the past, that its demise had a specific date,⁵⁷ and the loss of Gothic sovereignty and its substitution by the Arabian yoke did not merit excessive lamentations, since in the end, it had been the Will of God.⁵⁸ And no one could find an identification with, or even nostalgia for the lost Kingdom of the Goths in the anonymous author.⁵⁹ At any rate, the only things that had especially interested him in the Visigothic history of Spain had been the achievements, glories, and survival of its Church. However, on the other hand, the chapters of the Chronicle dedicated to Hispano-Visigothic History scarcely show any clear negative references to the kings or the Visigothic nobility as a group. Even when narrating the unfortunate Muslim invasion, the only thing that he mentions is the commendable bravery displayed by Count Theodemir in his fight against the Arabian enemy, who caused more than a few deaths.⁶⁰

A century later, the Cordoban Mozarabs Eulogius and Alvar had similar thoughts. For Eulogius, the kingdom of the Goths had certainly been a happy time; it was characterized by the flowering of the Church and moderation of the government. But that regime and kingdom no longer existed, having succumbed to the weight of its own sins at the hands of an impious race.⁶¹ Alvar also thought the ruin and disappearance of the Gothic Kingdom was a fact, and in his time Goths were subject to the humiliating rule of the Arabs.⁶² It must have seemed as if a divine design had predetermined the history of the two races, Goth and Arab, in an asymmetric parallel. Since, as

⁵⁷ *Cont.Hisp.*, 42.

⁵⁸ See. L. Schwenkow, *Kritische Betrachtung der lateinisch geschriebenen Quellen zur Geschichte der Eroberung Spaniens durch die Araber*. Diss. Celle, 1894, p. 30.

⁵⁹ See R. Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes*, p. 28 ff.

⁶⁰ *Cont.Hisp.*, 47.

⁶¹ Eulog., *Mem.Sanc.*, I,30; *Doc.Mart.*, 28. The glory of the Church under Gothic domination had been based on two things in those days forgotten: the worthiness of regard given to the priests (*contra*: Eulog., *Mem.Sanc.*, I,21), and the building of churches (*contra*: *ibid.*, III,3).

⁶² Alv., *Indiculus*, 21.

Eulogius wrote, the birth of Mohammed had certainly been contemporaneous to the glorious times of the Visigoths under Isidore and Sisebut, which, among other things, is characterized by the construction of famous basilicas that were still standing. All of this, in some way, marked the survival of the Church of the Visigoths despite the destruction of their political power.⁶³

Certainly Christian Cordoban writings of the second half of the ninth century reflect no testimony that the restoration of the Gothic Kingdom was a clear goal, beyond a certain eschatological expectation to which I will refer later. Nor was there any sign of the idea that the Asturian Kingdom of those times might represent the ideals of a Neogothic restoration, or that they would even assist their Christian brothers in the Umayyad State. Much was written about Alfonso III the Great's (866-910)⁶⁴ great military successes to promote an active Neogothic propaganda that is so clearly represented in the Chronicles of the so-called Cycle of Alfonso III.⁶⁵ But the truth is that Asturias did not really seem attractive to these cultured Cordoban Mozarabs, and they were certainly not willing to entrust the propagation of their ethnic destiny as Spaniards and descendants of the brave Goths to the upstart Asturian kings. In fact, the mention of Asturias, or of an autonomous Christian power there, is extremely rare among the Andalusian Christians of the VIII-Xth centuries. So, besides the obligatory references of Elipandus of Toledo in his famous controversy with Beatus of Liébana,⁶⁶ there is only one other mention of Asturias in Eulogius, who remarks that a certain "Brother Felix," a Berber Christian born in Alcalá de Henares, had moved there.⁶⁷ But the way in which the Cordoban refers to those lands is in no way reflective of a sense of belonging to the same territorial community. One could say that Asturias was not part of Spain (*Hispania*), the fatherland with which in a clear and rotund manner, as we have already seen, Eulogius as well as the rest of the Andalusians identified themselves during those centuries.

⁶³ Eulog., *Apol.*, 16, who looked at Saint Leocadia's church in Toledo (mentioned by Isid., *Chron.*, 415) and Saint Eufrasius's church in Ilturgo.

⁶⁴ See L. A. García Moreno, in M. Tuñón (ed.), *Historia de España*. II, Barcelona, 1981, pp. 428-431.

⁶⁵ See M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *De Isidoro al siglo XI*, pp. 216-229; J. Gil, *Crónicas Asturianas*. Oviedo, 1985, pp. 65-71; and G. Martin, "La chute du Royaume visigothique d'Espagne dans l'historiographie chrétienne des VIII et IX siècles," *Cahiers de linguistique Hispanique Médiévale* 9 (1984) 221-233.

⁶⁶ Elip., *Epist.Fidel.*; *Epist.episc.*, 1.

⁶⁷ Eulog., *Mem.Sanc.*, III,8,1.

This negative evidence need not prove that ideas like the ones mentioned above did not circulate in those environments. First of all, the lack of interest in and repercussion of the first victories of Asturian Christianity over Islam among the southern Christians of the day should not be denied. In a recent paper, this author believes to have demonstrated that Anadalusian Christians were immediately aware of the victory traditionally known as Covadonga, circa 737. The anonymous clerical author of the “754 Mozarab Chronicle” had acclaimed the battle as a Christian victory, with no other ethnic or regional adjectives, one that had been achieved thanks to the *Dei potentia* invoked by the Christians. The difference between the army that left Córdoba and the one that returned from the North must have impressed the Christians of the city, the same as it obviously did this anonymous cleric.⁶⁸

Just over a century later, diverse prophesies foretold the imminent end of Islamic domination. Certainly Alvar did not want to lend much credit to the prophesies circulating among the Andalusian Jews in 854 to the effect that the Messianic Era of Israel would begin in the fateful year of 868.⁶⁹ However, his friend Eulogius did not at all deny the verisimilitude of the apocalyptic prophecy of two eunuch monks, Rogelius and Serviodeus, had spread among the Christians and Muslims of Granada in 852. They were announcing the imminent arrival of the celestial Kingdom for the faithful and eternal fire for the unfaithful.⁷⁰ It may be more than a mere coincidence that the second monk, Serviodeus, who was possibly the leader,⁷¹ had recently arrived from the “Orient”.⁷² It just so happened that around 880 a prophetic text ascribed to Ezekiel affirming the destruction of Islamic power in the peninsula and the restoration of the Gothic Kingdom in

⁶⁸ *Cont.Hisp.*, 66 (= ed. J.E. López Pereira, 81). Certainly the chronicle’s author witnessed the departure and return of the army in Córdoba, since it is difficult to explain his accuracy otherwise. See L. A. García Moreno, Covadonga. Realidad y leyenda, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 194 (1996) pp. 372-376.

⁶⁹ Alv., *Indiculus*, 21; *Epist.*, XVI. Cf. J. Gil, “Judíos y cristianos en Hispania (s. VIII y IX),” *Hispania Sacra* 31 (1978-1979) 32-50.

⁷⁰ Eulog., *Mem.Sanc.*, II,13,1.

⁷¹ Serviodeus was a young man, but in those days Roger was already an old man. It is not easy to explain why Roger waited so much time to prophesy, but nevertheless, his young friend was the true foreteller.

⁷² Eulogius says *ante paucos annos ab orientis partibus ultra maria...peregrinus accessit*. His name, a clear mistake from *Servus Dei*, supposes he was born in a Latin-speaking Christian community.

the course of the years 883-884 began to circulate in Asturias. The text, known as the "Prophetic Chronicle", would have been adapted to the interests of the Asturian Monarchy of the time, but based on a prototype of undoubtable Andalusian origin. It may have been transmitted to Northern clerical circles by Mozarab monks together with other texts on the history of al-Andalus.⁷³ However it does not seem probable that the Andalusian Christians had invented the original prophecy; since, as Juan Gil has well noted, both the reference to the eschatological battle of Gog as well as the count of 170 years of Islamic domination point to an origin in Near Eastern Christianity.⁷⁴ Since it is unlikely a prophecy would go into circulation long before its supposed fulfillment, the primitive version probably would not have arrived in the Iberian Peninsula much before the middle of the ninth century,⁷⁵ and someone like Serviodeus could well have been its propagator.⁷⁶

The Gothic restoration proposed in this so-called "Prophetic Chronicle" has profound semantic differences with the language in the rest of the chronicles in the cycle of Alfonso III.⁷⁷ This was not about a Gothic restoration only through a royal bloodline; what would be re-established, was simply, the rule of the Goths, in plural and not over Asturias but over *Hispania*. That is, it affirmed that what was destroyed was the rule (*Regnum*) but not the people of the Goths (*gens gothorum*) who continued to exist in total communion with a homeland, Spain. These concepts and identifications, ethnic and territorial, refer back to those examined as part of the idealized ethnic

⁷³ The last edition by J. Gil, *Crónicas Asturianas*, pp. 185-188 (§ XVIII,8-XIX). Cf. M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *De Isidoro al siglo XI*, p. 226 ff.

⁷⁴ J. Gil, "Judíos y cristianos en Hispania (s. VIII y IX)," p. 57 ff.

⁷⁵ Without a doubt the text of the prophesy we now have only regards Spain -so the 170 years referenced to Ismahel's domination fits the years Muslim rule had lasted in Spain-, but also it can be placed in an African context (*fines Libie*), which matched afterwards the place of the actual or mythical battle in Covadonga (*in Libana*, see L. A. García Moreno "Covadonga. Realidad y leyenda", pp. 368ff. If the years refer to the Muslim Maghreb conquest it likely certainly dates to 670 A.D., when Uqba founded Qairwan, or 695 A.D., when Byzantine Carthage fell. If all this is right the prophesy originated about 835-860 A.D., a convenient date for reception by Serviodeus before arriving to Granada.

⁷⁶ Of course, Serviodeus was not the only oriental priest arriving to Spain in those days. Eulogius (*Mem.Sanc.*, II,10) mentions somebody named George from Palestine, afterwards a martyr. But Serviodeus is the likelier candidate because of his African origin.

⁷⁷ G. Martin, "La chute du Royaume visigothique d'Espagne," pp. 224-227.

identity among the Cordoban Christians of the ninth century as presented in the works of Eulogius and Alvar.

Obviously, the prophecy foretelling the imminent disappearance of Islamic power on the peninsula was not fulfilled, even if it was inserted into Rogelius and Serviodeus' apocalyptic announcements in 852. However, it does not seem outrageous to think that more than a few Mozarabs, like Eulogius himself, were believers, since it seems too large a coincidence that there was a very important Mozarab rebellion in Toledo precisely in 852.⁷⁸ This revolt had a strong flavor of Christian restoration and the rebels had called on all the Peninsular Christian powers for aid, the king of Asturias as well as Arista of Pamplona.⁷⁹ The Toledan Mozarab rebellion reached its climax in 854. And despite the bloody defeat that year in the battle of Guadacelete, the rebels still attempted to lift their spirits by naming the radical Eulogius as Metropolitan in 858. Coinciding with the Toledan uprising, Eulogius and his supporters carried their movement of radical opposition to Islam to its extreme in those years that also yielded the greatest number of voluntary martyrs. This unexpected explosion might best be explained by assuming a strong eschatological expectation in the Mozarab community.⁸⁰ But the Emir

⁷⁸ In 848 Eulogius was in Toledo. Was he preaching the good news? Cf. R.P. Dozy, *Historia de los musulmanes de España*. II, translation from the French. Madrid, 1984, p. 135; I. de las Cagigas, *Los Mozárabes*. I, Madrid, 1947, p. 154. Meanwhile J. Fontaine, "Mozarabie hispanique et monde carolingien: <les échanges culturels entre la France et l'Espagne du VII au X siècle>," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 13 (1983) 28 ff., thinks the earlier trip of Eulogius and his brothers to the Carolingian court might have as its goal to ask for Frankish military help.

⁷⁹ This feature is strengthened if we accept an Ibn Idari paragraph as understood by Fagnan and Dozy, according to which the chief of the rebellious Toledans was named Suinthila. See R. P. Dozy, *Historia de los musulmanes de España*. II, p. 135 note 2; I. de las Cagigas, *Los Mozárabes*, I, p. 154 and note 31; but *contra*: Simonet and Lévi Provençal, cf. C. Sánchez Albornoz, *Orígenes de la Nación española. El Reino de Asturias*. III, Oviedo, 1975, p. 202 note 25; because this name matches that of the famous Visigothic king praised by Isidore (*Historia Gothorum*, 62) as the victorious unifier and peace-maker of Spain who beat the foreign Byzantines. Did this new Suinthila drive out that other foreign and unfaithful invaders of Spain? On the symbolic meaning of royal homonymy in Medieval Spain see A. Milhou, "De Rodrigue le pécheur à Ferdinand le restaurateur," in J. Fontaine - Ch. Pellistrandi, ed., *L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne wisigothique*. Madrid, 1992, p. 371 ss.

⁸⁰ Actually a satisfactory explanation has not yet been found for such Christian fanaticism. See K. B. Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain*. Cambridge, 1988, p. 107 ff., who does not specify concretely the reasons for these martyrs. On the other hand J. Waltz, "The significance of the voluntary martyrs of ninth-century Córdoba," *The Muslim World* 2-3 (1970) 231, has shown the eschatological element - in his opinion, introduced in 870 by Alvar - for understanding the Córdoba martyrs.

kept Eulogius from going to his new seat, and finally ordered his execution on 11 March 859. Eulogius' death may have been considered the symbol of the failure of the prophecy by many, and certainly a few months later the Mozarab rebels of Toledo opted to sue the Emir for peace.⁸¹ The future revolts of the old Visigothic capital would have a less markedly Christian flavor and would fit better in the splitting movements that plagued the Emirate in the following decades, and which, in good measure, would be led by important Muwallad families and leaders, with the ever more active intervention of the northern Christian Kingdoms. This last context easily explains how the discredited North African prophecy took its last trip to Asturias, possibly carried by exiled Andalusian Mozarabs. And there, in the court of Alfonso III, it would undergo a new chronological readjustment, placing the apocalyptic horizon in 883-884. At that time the prophecy fitted the offensive political interests of the Asturian Monarch, reinforcing Alfonso's pretensions to dynastic legitimacy and the restoration of the Gothic Kingdom proposed at the end of the eighth century by his predecessor Alfonso II,⁸² and converting the foundational victory at Covadonga into the first day of the prophetic eschatological battle in *fines Libie*.⁸³

The new political use of the old prophecy is a symptom of the beginning of a process of progressive thinning of the Hispano-Goth identity among Andalusian Mozarabs and of its growing monopolization by the independent Christian communities of the peninsular North, with a special contribution to the ambitious political project of the Astur-Leonese monarchy. In the first moments the principal factors of the double process would have been both the territorial consolidation of the Leonese Kingdom in the valley of the Douro river as much as the reinforcement of the Islamic power in al-Andalus with the creation of the Cordoban Caliphate (929).

The establishment of the Caliphate with its military successes and

⁸¹ On this great muzarab rebellion in Toledo see C. Sánchez Albornoz, *Orígenes de la Nación española*, III, pp. 195-218.

⁸² J. Gil, *Crónicas Asturianas*, pp. 65-71, who sets the neo-Gothic ideal up until the middle of IXth Century; C. Sánchez Albornoz, *Orígenes de la Nación española. El Reino de Asturias*. II, Oviedo, 1974, pp. 623-640; A. Barbero - M. Vigil, *La formación del feudalismo en la Península Ibérica*, Barcelona. 1978, pp. 262-278; and L.A. García Moreno, *Romanismo y Germanismo. El despertar de los pueblos hispánicos*. Barcelona. 1981, p. 420.

⁸³ *Crónica de Albelda*, XVIII,8. (ed.) J. Gil, *Crónicas Asturianas*, p. 186. Cf. García Moreno, "Covadonga," 369.

the strengthening of central power were not the best conditions for the survival of a Latin Christian elite in al-Andalus. All the indications show that in the tenth century the conversions to Islam and the process of cultural "arabization" underwent a spectacular and decisive growth.⁸⁴ The tragic events among Cordoban and 'Andalusian Christians, centered in the martyr's movement and the frustration of the excessive expectations born in the shadow of the Muwallad revolts and Asturian successes. These developments did not favor the maintenance of the Andalusian Christian communities. Most seriously, many of their social and cultural leaders were eliminated or deserted, some to the Christian North and others to Islam, or at the very least to the Arab culture.⁸⁵

The Andalusian Mozarab elites did not only disappear or go into exile. Representatives of an oligarchy with a fundamental urban vocation and base had used the patron saints of their cities to give ideological cohesiveness to the social solidarity and vertical structures of their communities.⁸⁶ Fundamentally, these heavenly patrons were created during the decisive centuries between the end of the fourth

⁸⁴ See T.F. Glick, *Cristianos y musulmanes*, p. 43 ff. following the framework set forth by R.W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period*. Cambridge Mass. - London, 1979, p. 16 ff.). Bulliet's methods have generated many critics. See, D. Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings*, pp. 225-227 doubts that using Islamic names like al-Andalus meant necessarily a change of faiths. While A.G. Chejne, "Islamization and arabization in al-Andalus: a general view," in S. Vryonis Jr., ed., *Islamic and Cultural change in the Middle Ages*. Wiesbaden, 1975, pp. 65-73. And M. Barceló, "Un estudio sobre la estructura fiscal y procedimientos contables del Emirato omeya de Córdoba y del Califato," *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia* 5-6 (1984-1985) 46-52, argues for a rapid spread of Islam; Barceló says that in the first half of IXth Century 77.44% villages in Córdoba's realm (*kura*) were dwelled only by Muslim people. But this opinion is not free of critics: 1) for Barceló the only index of a village being Islamic is its inclusion into the tax poll transmitted by al-Udri; 2) there is not any reason for thinking this poll included only Muslim villages. Is not the right *tahl* tax a portion from *zakat*, different of *'usr*, as Levi-Provençal realized, 3) Barceló does not take in account other evidence working against his opinions, such as some villages founded around a Christian church or monastery still flowering in IXth Century; 4) It is hardly tenable to suppose some villages being exclusively Christian and other ones exclusively Muslim; 5) Barceló himself (pg. 58) wonders about the size of the tax Christians delivered in Córdoba in the middle of IXth Century. So Barceló supposes an excessive tax burden on the *dimmijs*, but this idea does not match Ibn Hawqal (quoted by Barceló, pg. 62) mentioning a lighter tax burden a century later. It is reasonable to think of a tax increasing as the number of Christians declined in order not to lose a minimum of incomes.

⁸⁵ D. Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings*, p. 246 sees the losses among the élite as the most dangerous challenge to Christian communities.

⁸⁶ L.A. García Moreno, "En las raíces de Andalucía," pp. 867ff. specifically for Córdoba.

century and the beginnings of the seventh century. A local identification with a series of patron Saints who were specifically Hispanic decisively aided the appearance of a Hispanic ethnic consciousness in the religious realm and this, aside from the mythical descent from the brave Goths, constituted the other great ideological basis of the Gothic-Hispano ethnic identity.⁸⁷ The loss of these ancient *cives caelesti* was not far off either. Centuries later Alfonso X would implicitly justify Gothic legitimacy of the Kingdom founded in Asturias on the basis of the *traslatio* of the relics of these patron saints to Asturias.⁸⁸

Carolingian Europe required a growing number of saints' and martyrs' relics. Thieves and the emissaries of bishops and monasteries leapt into the incessant hunt. Soon al-Andalus was the object of these fishing expeditions, and advantage was taken of Mozarab sanctuaries abandoned as the result of the drop in the number of faithful or of some reprisal by the Islamic political power.⁸⁹ In 858, with the culminating events of the Cordoban Mozarab opposition to the Emir, two monks from Saint-Germain-des-Pres traversed the peninsula in search of famous relics. Although they did not manage to make off with the body of the venerated Saint Vincent in Córdoba, they were able to gather a good sized booty of relics from the martyrs fallen six years before in the city.⁹⁰ In 854, the Mozarabs of Zaragoza, with Bishop Senior at their head, managed to block the first attempt to move the supposed relics of venerable Vincent by the monks of the Conques Abbey in Aquitania, who had found them in the saint's martyrial basilica in Valencia. However, ten years later another group of Frankish monks achieved this with the help of the Emir of Córdoba.⁹¹ And

⁸⁷ See L.A. García Moreno, "Elites e Iglesia hispanas en la transición del Imperio romano al Reino visigodo," in J. M^a Candau *et alii* (ed.), *La conversión de Roma. Cristianismo y Paganismo*. Madrid, 1990, p. 251 ff. See on these issues C. García Rodríguez, *El culto de los santos en la España romana y visigoda*. Madrid, 1967.

⁸⁸ R. Homet, "La pérdida de España", mito motor de la Reconquista," *Temas Medievales* 4 (1994) 107.

⁸⁹ P.J. Geary, *Furta Sacra. Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*. 2nd ed. Princeton, 1990, p. 35 ff.

⁹⁰ B. de Gaiffier, "Les notices hispaniques dans le Martyrologe d'Usuard," *Analecta Bollandiana* 55 (1937) 268-283.

⁹¹ See L. de Laguer, "Saint Vincent de Saragosse," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France* 13 (1927) 338 ss. The *traslatio*, written by the monk Aimoin, mentions a church in Valencia without parishioners, but this does not match later testimonies up till XIIth Century, see L. Peñarroja, *Cristianos bajo el Islam. Los mozárabes hasta la reconquista de Valencia*. Madrid, 1993, pp. 276-278. Of course there is still controversy about mozarabs in the Levant, see M. de Epalza - E.A. Llobregat, "¿Hubo mozárabes en tierras valencianas? Proceso de islamización del Levante de la península (Sharq al-

two decades later, in 884, the relics of the last great Cordoban martyr, Eulogius, traveled to Oviedo, suggesting that his presence and protection were more important to the citizens of the capital of the northern Christian Kingdom than the Andalusian Mozarabs.

And the worst was yet to come. The main institution that had maintained the consciousness of their "Hispanicity" and "Gothicness" among the Andalusian Mozarab communities had been their Church, with its particular liturgy and the cultural traditions reproduced in its monastic and cathedral schools. The destruction of the Caliphate and the subsequent *Fitna* not only strengthened the Christian Peninsular kingdoms and resulted in their advance on al-Andalus; it also strengthened the idea that the true restoration of Gothic Spain was centered in those kingdoms. Together with this, the Christian victories promoted the resurgence of Islamic intransigence in al-Andalus; the populist exclusivist Islam that was favored by the military dictatorship of the Amiris would bud again two generations later in the invasion of the Moroccan Almoravids. Alfonso VI of Castile's taking of Toledo in 1085 marks the decisive point in this process. The triumphant Christian monarch installed the new Roman and European liturgy in the ancient primacy of the Mozarab and Visigoth Church. At the same time, some of those who had been the most important *cives caelesti* of the southern Hispano-Gothic and Mozarab communities were carried North to the lands of the victorious Christian states. In 1063 emissaries of King Ferdinand of Castile carried the relics of Saint Isidore off to León, their capital.⁹² Towards 1084 other emissaries of the Aragonese monarch Sancho Ramirez took the remains of Saint Indaletius, an Apostolic Man and the patron of Urçi, which was very close to Islamic Almería, off to San Juan de la Peña Monastery in Jaca.⁹³ Both transfers were made against the

Andalus), " *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Alicantinos* 36 (1982) 7-32, followed by M^a J. Rubiera, *La Taifa de Denia*, 103 ff.; but with many more doubts P. Guichard, "Les mozarabes de Valence et d'Al-Andalus entre l'Histoire et le Mythe," *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 40 (1985) 22 ff.

⁹² *Historia Silense*. (ed.) J. Perés de Urbel - A. González. Madrid, (1959), pp. 95-100; *Acta translationis beati Isidori*. (ed.) E. Flórez, *España Sagrada*, IX, 371-375. A. Viñayo, "Cuestiones histórico-críticas en torno a la traslación del cuerpo de S. Isidoro," in *Isidoriana. Estudios sobre San Isidoro de Sevilla en el XIV centenario de su nacimiento*. León, 1961, pp. 285-299.

⁹³ The account of the *Traslatio* was issued by the Bollandists in their *Acta Sanctorum*, III, 734-740. J.A. Tapia Garrido, *Historia de Almería. Almería Musulmana I (711-1172)*. Almería, 1986, pp. 270-286, and L.A. García Moreno, "La Monarquía visigoda y la Iglesia en Levante. Las raíces de un País," *Hispania Sacra* 49 (1997) pp. 254-260.

will of the Christian communities in Seville and Urci-Almería, but with the support of the imperialist Sevillian Emir al-Mutamid.

In the middle of the twelfth century some Christian communities, led by their own bishops and practicing their old Hispano-Visigothic rites, were still subsisting in an ever smaller al-Andalus. But the new Moroccan invasion of the Almohads and their Islamic intransigence finished most of them off and the last Mozarab Bishop took refuge in the Christian Kingdoms.⁹⁴ However, the consciousness of their Gothic inheritance was still a motive of pride among the Andalusian Christians. In 1390 a lineage asserting descent from Mozarabs who had moved to Morocco, the Farfanes, claimed their Gothic blood to place themselves in the service of the Castilian monarch and obtain the privileges of nobles.

⁹⁴ F.J. Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*. Madrid, 1903, p. 759 ff.

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